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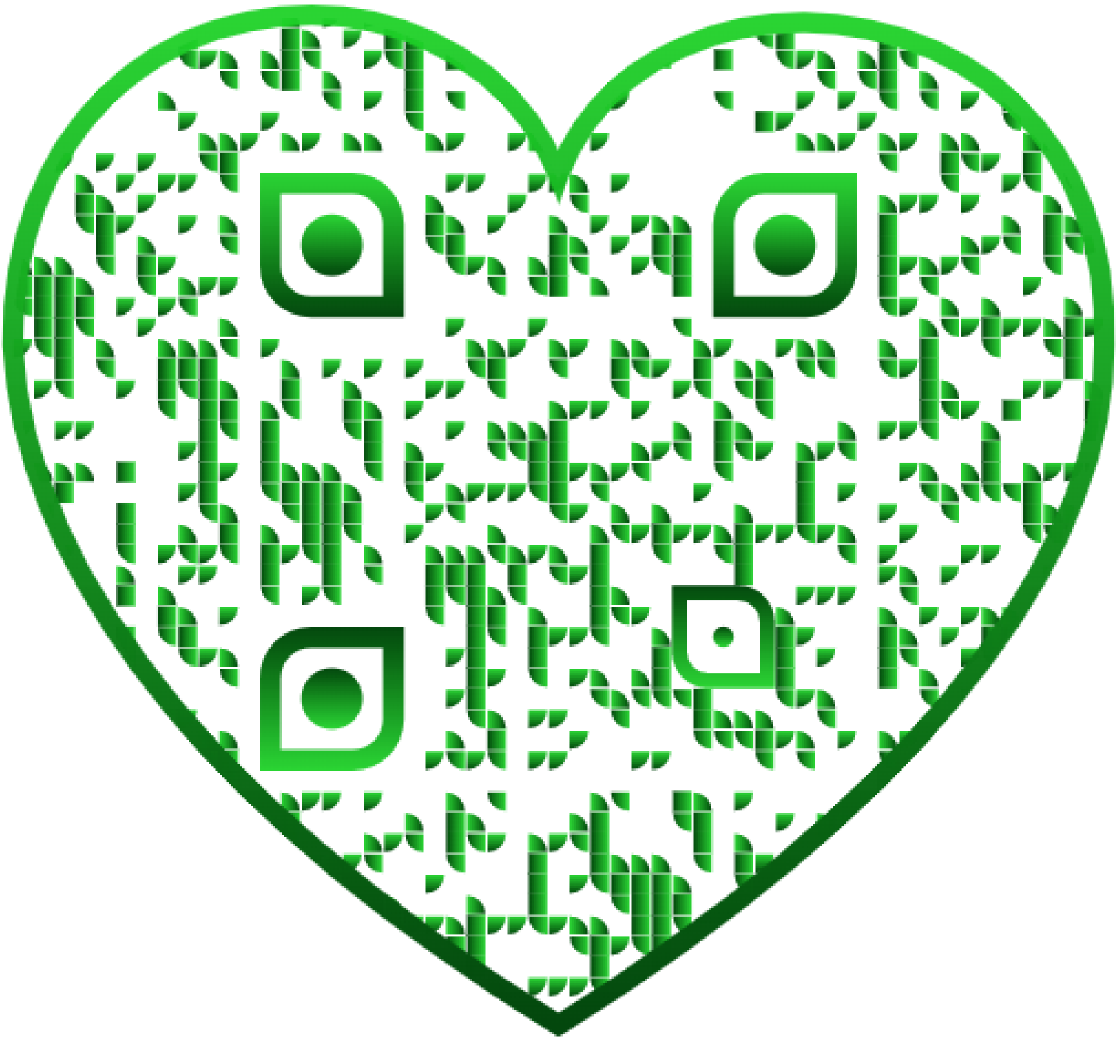

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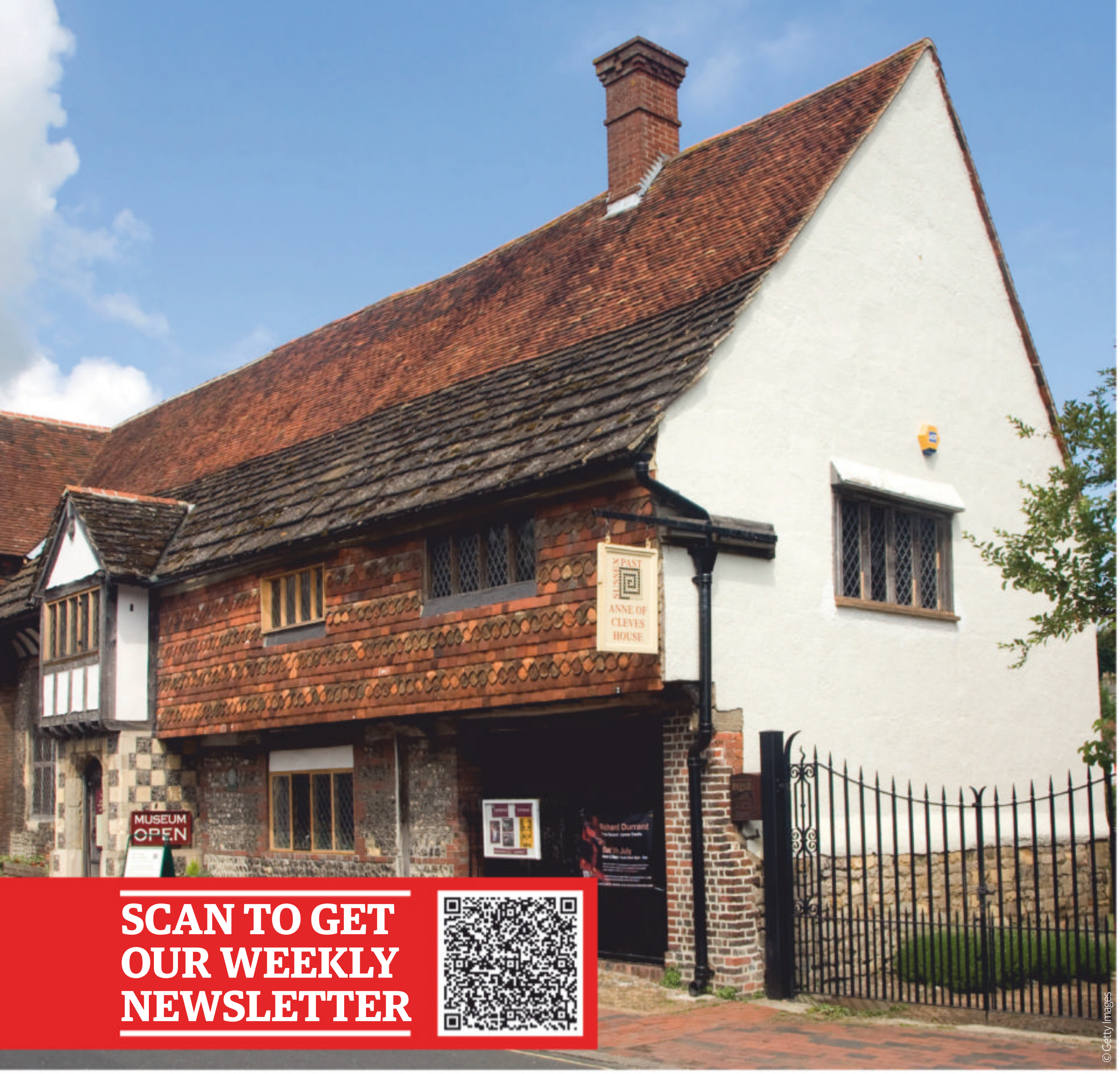

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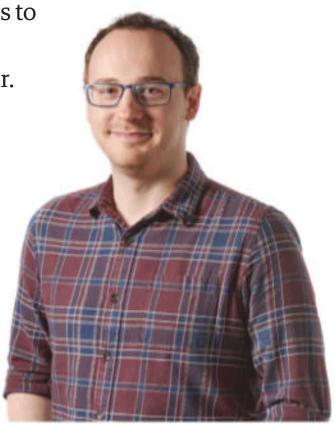
SCAN TO GET OUR WEEKLY NEWSLETTER

Anne of Cleves house in Lewes was gifted to the queen after her marriage, but she never actually lived there. It's now a museum

Welcome

It's great to see that the wives of Henry VIII have been getting some renewed interest in recent months. This is, in part, thanks to the release of the musical *Six*, which is a comedy/pop music take on the stories of Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katherine Howard and Catherine Parr. This, along with a number of excellent books that have sought to reexamine the lives of these women, such as Alison Weir's historical fiction series, have offered up interesting new perspectives through which to appreciate these women and their lives. For me, the most misunderstood has always been Anne of Cleves, the supposed rejected wife. Her residence in England and life in the court of Henry VIII following their marriage hints at a more complex story.

It's that complexity that we look to unravel for you this issue as Emily Staniforth brings the fourth queen's challenges and victories to light. Also this issue we search for the hidden secrets in history's greatest masterpieces, learn about the criminals who took advantage of Second World War blackouts in Britain, discover lost cities in southeast Asia and ponder what Marilyn Monroe's life could have been. Quite a selection of stories to close out 2024 and kickstart a new year. I hope you enjoy the issue and have a fantastic start to 2025. We have lots planned for the year to come.



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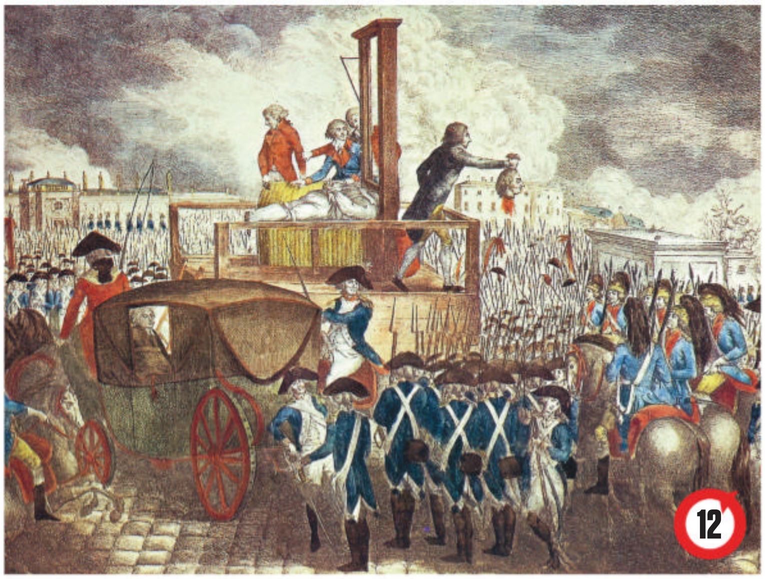

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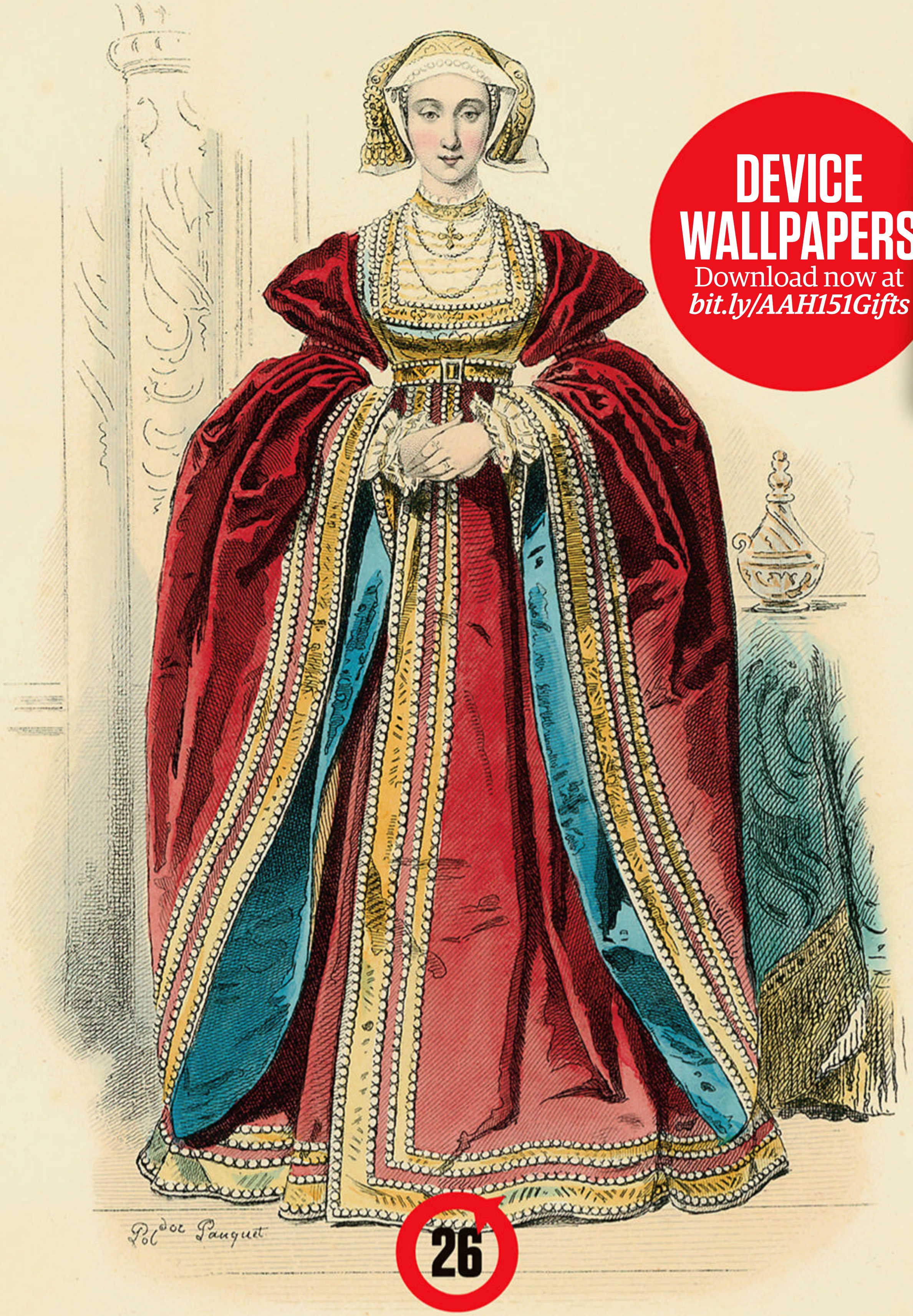
ANNE OF CLEVES



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How the rejected queen became one of Tudor England's most prosperous women

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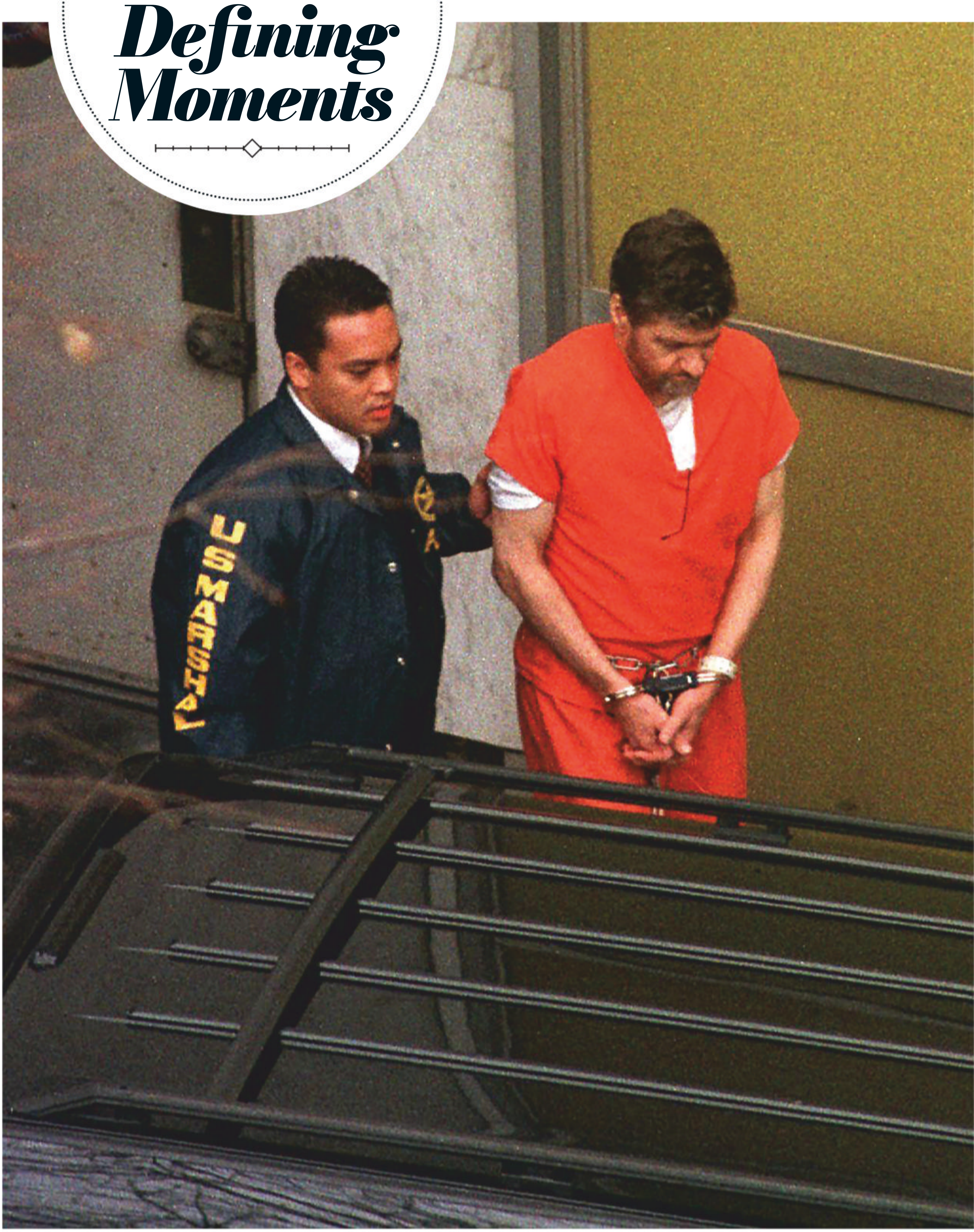

POLICE
S. MARSHAL

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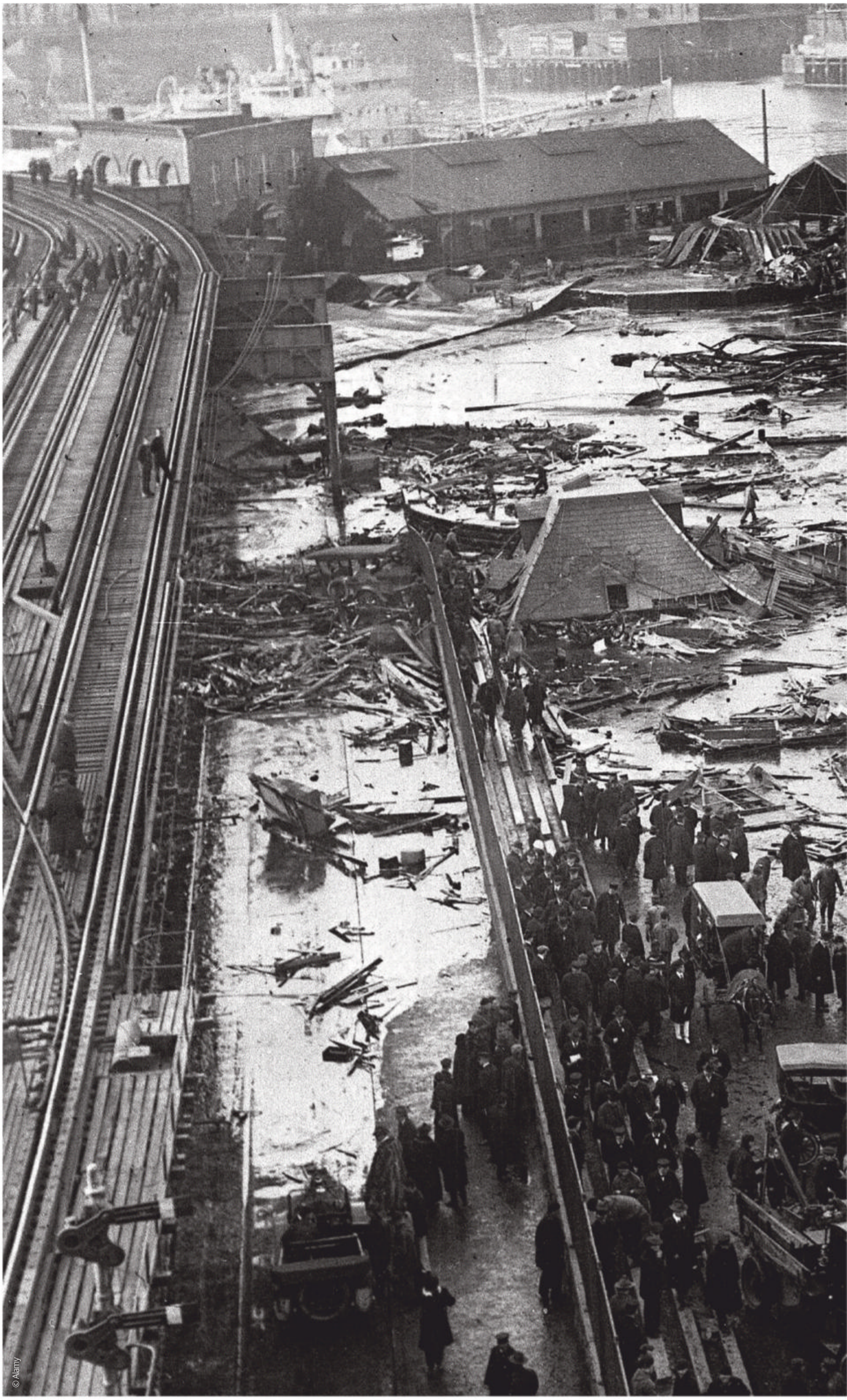
22 January 1998

UNABOMBER CONFESSES

After pleading guilty to all charges against him, American domestic terrorist Ted Kaczynski, also known as the Unabomber, was sentenced to serve several consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole. Kaczynski had begun a 17-year bombing campaign in 1978 in the hopes of bringing awareness to what he thought were the dangers of modern technology. His bombs, which were either mailed or hand-delivered, killed three people and injured 23 more. Kaczynski was eventually caught after sending his anti-technology manifesto to *The New York Times*. Upon its publication in September 1995, Kaczynski's brother recognised the writing and reported his suspicions to the FBI.



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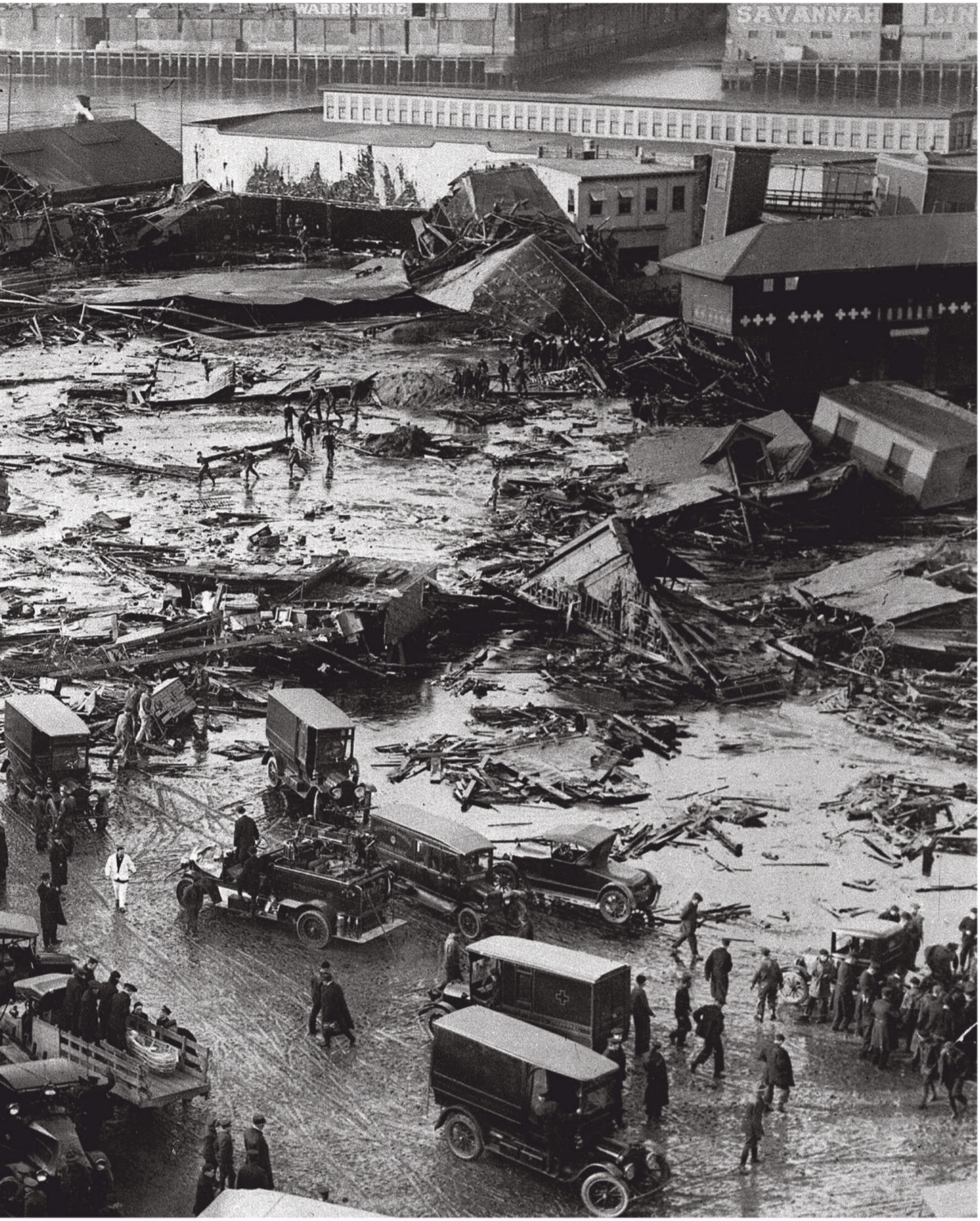
15 January 1919

GREAT MOLASSES FLOOD

At about 12.30pm nearly 9 million litres of molasses flooded the streets of the North End neighbourhood of Boston, Massachusetts, after a storage tank burst. The thick syrupy liquid, a by-product of sugar refining, surged through the streets at 55kph and reached a height of 12m, killing 21 people and injuring around 150. The area continued to smell of molasses for years after the tragic incident, which came to be known as the Great Molasses Flood or the Boston Molasses Disaster.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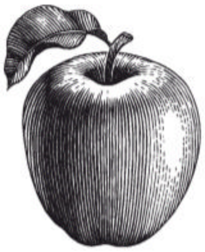

Discover a revolutionary age when science, philosophy, technology and art transformed our understanding of the world

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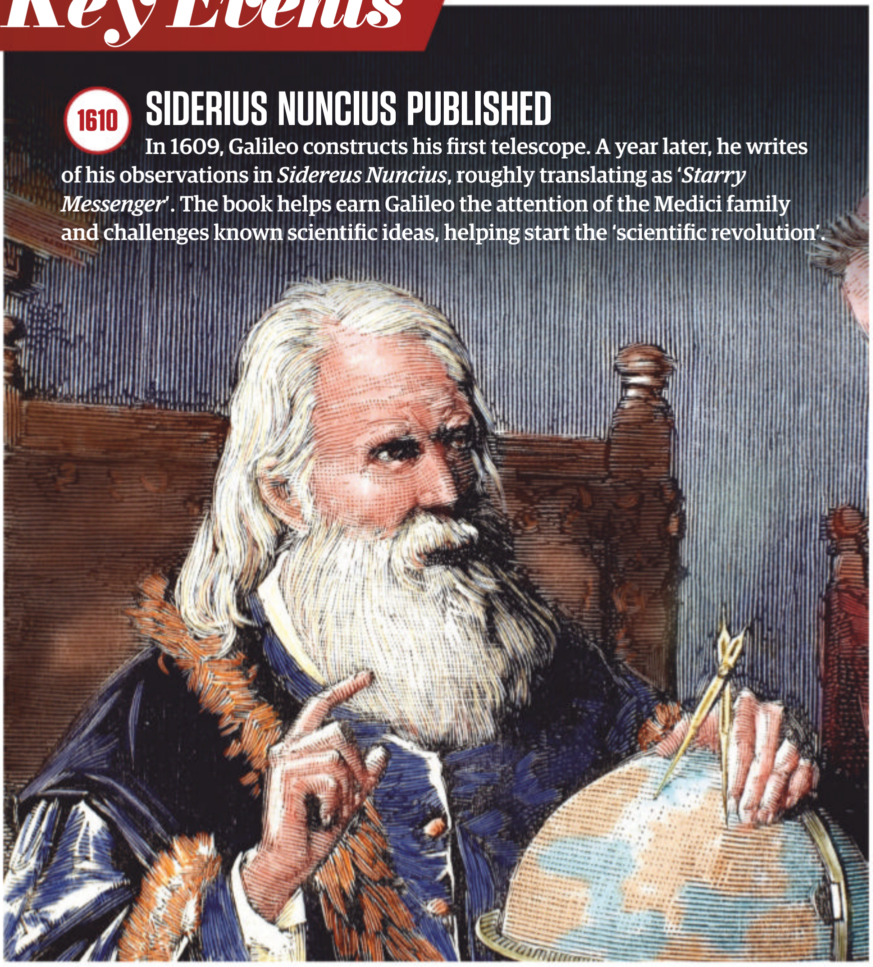
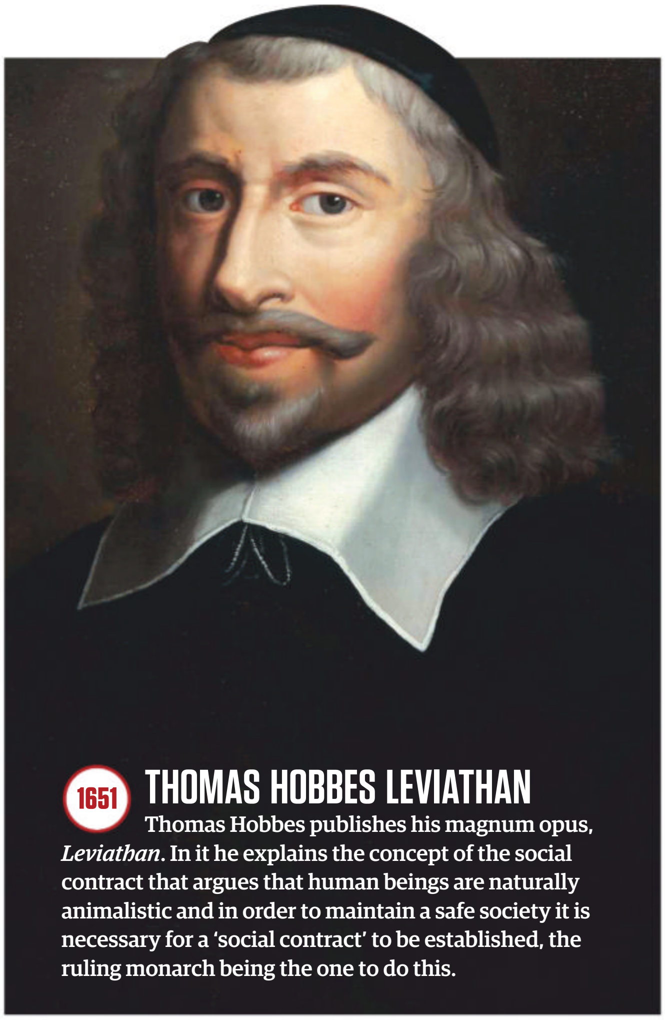
Written by Emily Staniforth, Callum McKelvie & Jonathan Gordon

Key Events



1610 SIDERIUS NUNCIUS PUBLISHED

In 1609, Galileo constructs his first telescope. A year later, he writes of his observations in *Sidereus Nuncius*, roughly translating as '*Starry Messenger*'. The book helps earn Galileo the attention of the Medici family and challenges known scientific ideas, helping start the 'scientific revolution'.



1651 THOMAS HOBBES LEVIATHAN

Thomas Hobbes publishes his magnum opus, *Leviathan*. In it he explains the concept of the social contract that argues that human beings are naturally animalistic and in order to maintain a safe society it is necessary for a 'social contract' to be established, the ruling monarch being the one to do this.

FRANCIS BACON PUBLISHES HIS NOVUM ORGANUM 1620

Francis Bacon's treatise explores his own method of scientific interpretation and how this can be used to obtain knowledge of nature, ideas that form the foundation of contemporary scientific methodology.

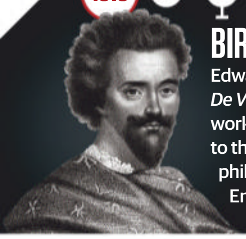
GALILEO RECANTS SCIENTIFIC VIEWS 1633

Galileo is tried for his belief that the Earth revolves around the sun and is forced to recant his views. He spends the rest of his life under house arrest.

RICHARD LASSELS COINS THE TERM 'THE GRAND TOUR' 1670

Following in the footsteps of architect Inigo Jones' 1613-14 trip to the Continent, rich young British men begin to travel to Europe as part of an educational right of passage.

1610 1651 1687 1689



BIRTH OF DEISM 1624

Edward Herbert publishes *De Veritate* or '*On Truth*'. The work is considered integral to the burgeoning religious philosophy Deism, central to Enlightenment thought.

ROYAL SOCIETY FOUNDED IN ENGLAND 1660

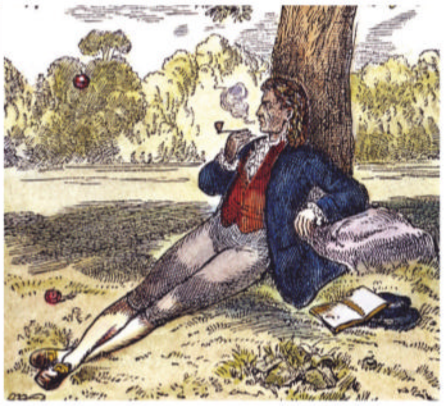
Groups of physicians and philosophers begin to meet to exchange ideas, gaining a Royal Charter from King Charles II. The society continues to this day.

BIRTH OF ARCHAEOLOGY c.1685

In 1685, Jacques Spon uses the term 'archaeologia' to describe the study of ancient civilisations. During the Enlightenment, archaeology begins to form as a discipline, with ancient sites being mapped and excavated.

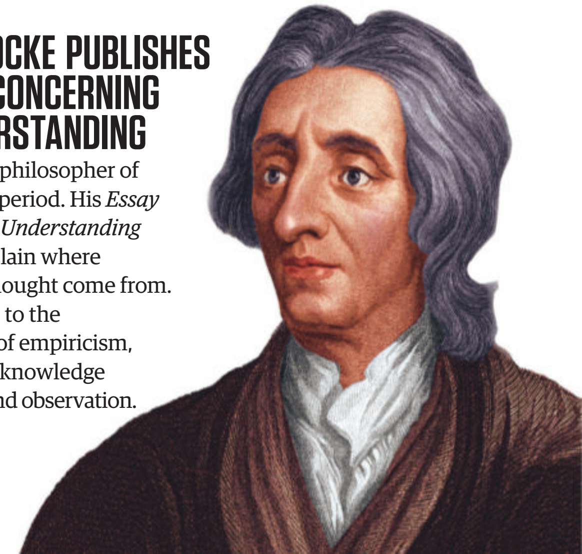
1687 ISAAC NEWTON'S THEORY OF GRAVITY

In his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, Isaac Newton presents his theory of gravity, going on to explain the movements of the planets and Moon. He purportedly comes up with his theory after seeing an apple fall from a tree.



1689 JOHN LOCKE PUBLISHES ESSAY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

John Locke is a key philosopher of the Enlightenment period. His *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* is an attempt to explain where human ideas and thought come from. The work is integral to the burgeoning notion of empiricism, simply that human knowledge comes from first-hand observation.



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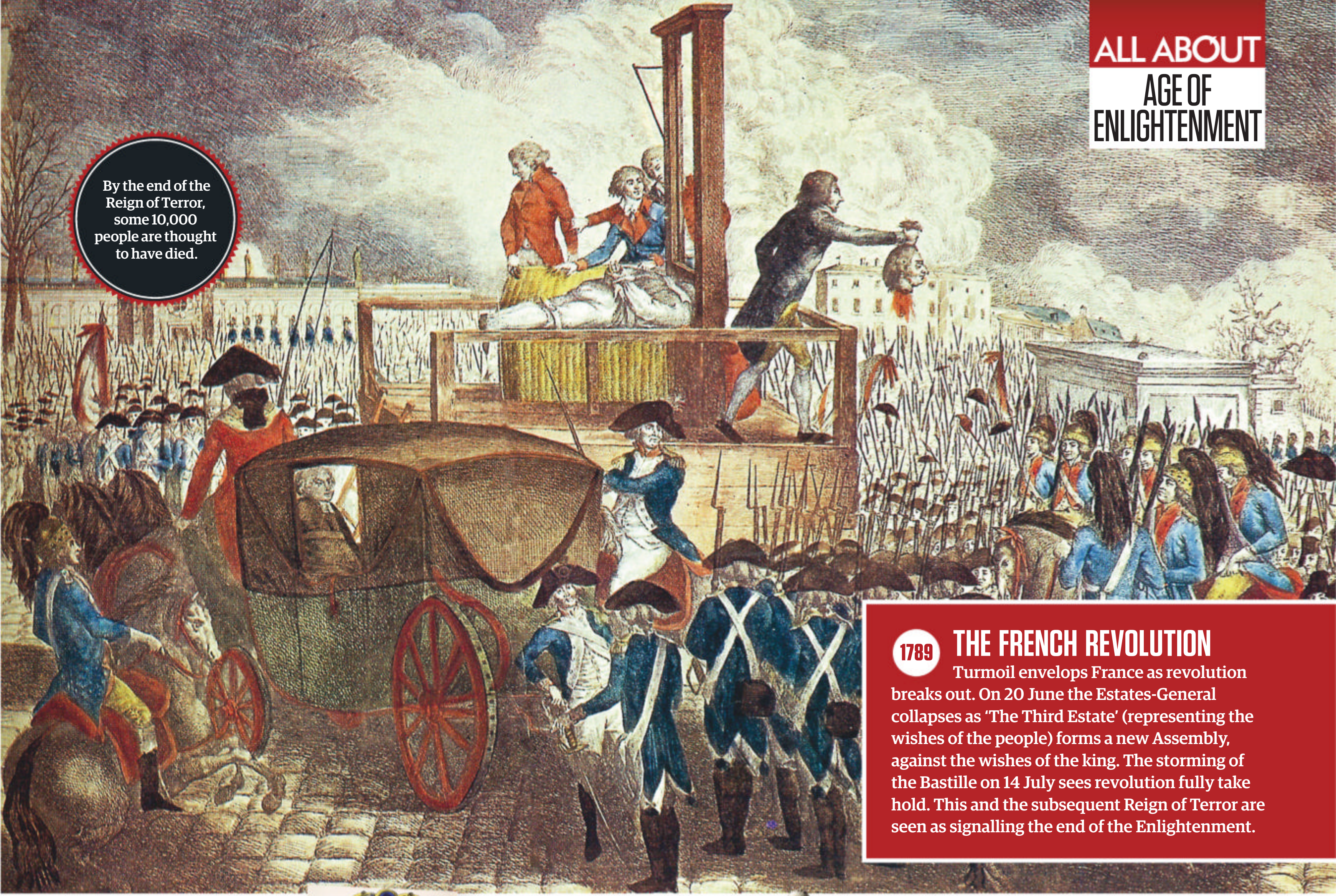


By the end of the Reign of Terror, some 10,000 people are thought to have died.

1789 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Turmoil envelops France as revolution breaks out. On 20 June the Estates-General collapses as 'The Third Estate' (representing the wishes of the people) forms a new Assembly, against the wishes of the king. The storming of the Bastille on 14 July sees revolution fully take hold. This and the subsequent Reign of Terror are seen as signalling the end of the Enlightenment.

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION
1688

James II is replaced by Mary II and William III of Orange. After decades of unrest between the Crown and Parliament, William's rule cements the power of Parliament in England.

VOLTAIRE PUBLISHES CANDIDE 1759

Voltaire, one of the Enlightenment's most important philosophers, publishes his 'Candide'. Despite being considered a key work it is a scathing attack on the movement's optimistic principles.

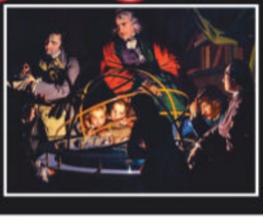
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 1776

The *Declaration of Independence* is signed into being. This fundamental document is influenced by Enlightenment ideas, namely the essays of John Locke among others.

1751 1759 1789

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE 1720

Lady Mary Wortley Montague is a poet and author. Having suffered a bout of smallpox as a child, she later witnesses a vaccination in Turkey and pioneers its introduction in England.



JOSEPH WRIGHT OF DERBY PAINTS A PHILOSOPHER GIVING A LECTURE AT THE ORRERY c.1766

Wright paints one of his most famous works, of a scientist giving a lecture. Wright is interested in the Enlightenment, frequently painting scientists.

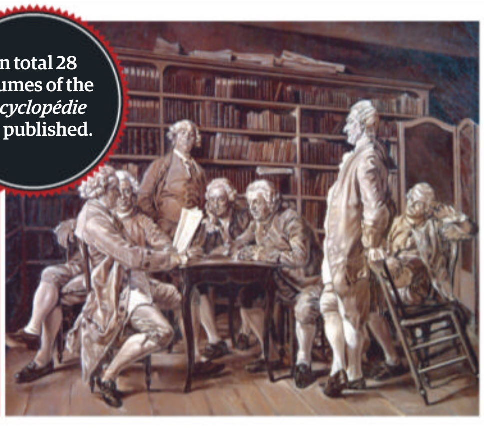
ROSETTA STONE DISCOVERED 1799

During the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt the Rosetta Stone is discovered, leading to the first translations of ancient hieroglyphics.

1751 FIRST VOLUME OF THE ENCYCLOPÉDIE

Published between 1751 and 1772 and edited by Denis Diderot, the *Encyclopédie* is an attempt to catalogue all human knowledge, including recent advances in philosophy and thought. The belief is that disseminating knowledge to the public will ultimately help them lead more fulfilling lives.

In total 28 volumes of the *Encyclopédie* are published.



1759 BIRTH OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

Mary Wollstonecraft is born on 27 April. She becomes a powerful advocate for the rights of women, most famously penning a *Vindication on the Rights of Women* (1792). This work in particular is considered an important early feminist piece.

Mary Wollstonecraft was the mother of Mary Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein*.

PETIT TRIANON

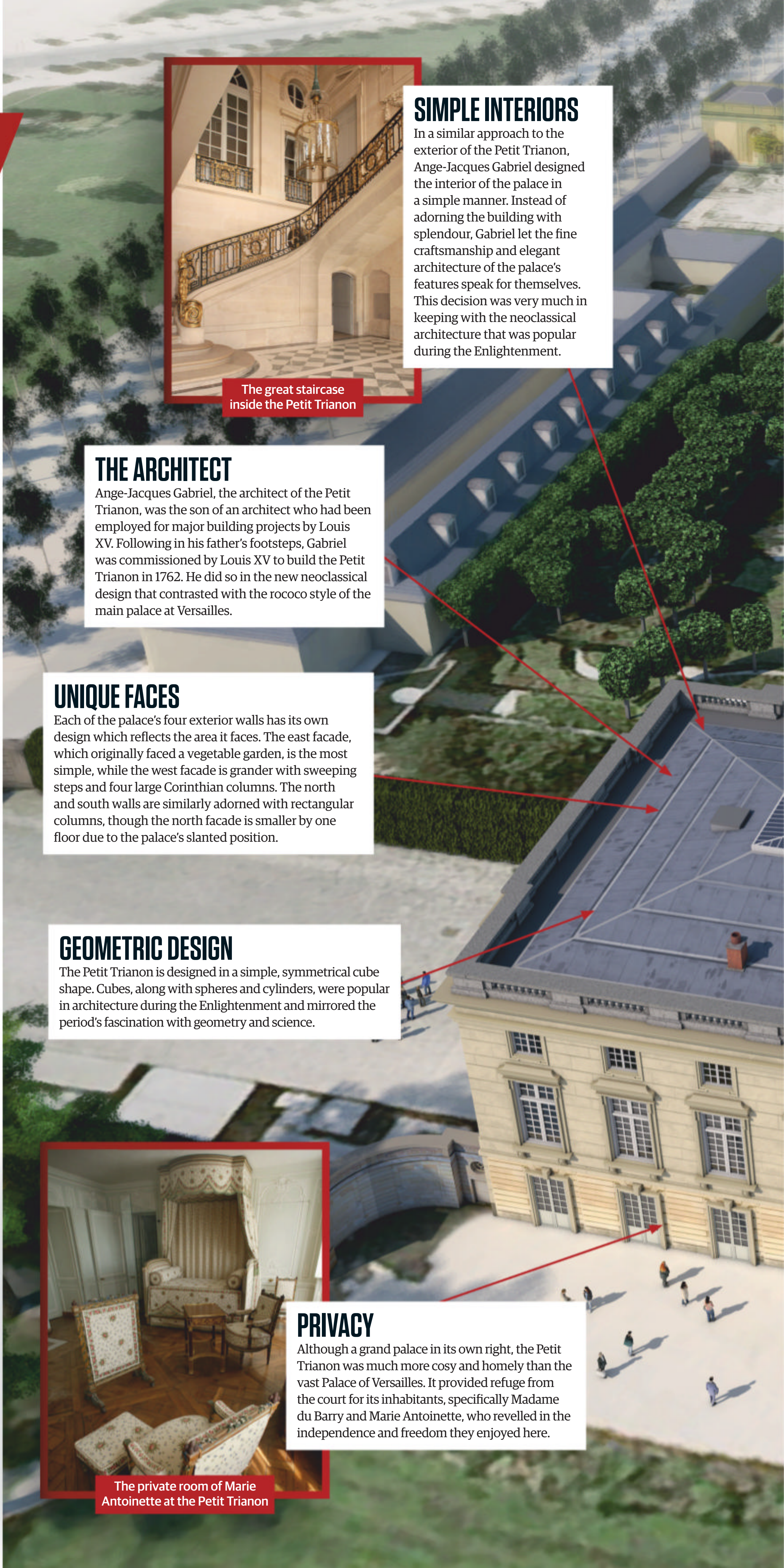
Versailles, France
1762 – present

Located in the grounds of the Palace of Versailles on the Trianon Estate near Paris is the Petit Trianon, a smaller palace designed in the style of neoclassicism. During the Enlightenment, neoclassical architecture flourished across Europe. Harking back to the style of the ancient Greeks while prioritising scientific rationalism, neoclassicism provided the perfect balance that encompassed the values of the Enlightenment movement.

The Petit Trianon was commissioned by King Louis XV as a place of privacy for his beloved mistress Madame du Pompadour, but she died before the palace was finished. The king decided to gift the building, which was eventually completed in 1768, to his new mistress Madame du Barry. Du Barry was a great patron of the arts and was an influence on the continuing use of neoclassical architecture at Versailles.

Louis XV and du Barry enjoyed the privacy offered by the Petit Trianon until his death in 1774. The French crown then passed to his grandson, Louis XVI, who gave the palace to his wife Marie Antoinette. Beloved by the new queen, the Petit Trianon went through a number of changes as she made the building her own. Antoinette transformed the gardens surrounding the palace and created new buildings in the wider Trianon estate, including a hamlet and a theatre. The queen also put her stamp on the interior of the Petit Trianon, incorporating floral designs and motifs in the furnishings.

After the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century the palace had a number of owners and in 1862 it was first categorised as an historic monument. The Petit Trianon became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979.



The great staircase inside the Petit Trianon

SIMPLE INTERIORS

In a similar approach to the exterior of the Petit Trianon, Ange-Jacques Gabriel designed the interior of the palace in a simple manner. Instead of adorning the building with splendour, Gabriel let the fine craftsmanship and elegant architecture of the palace's features speak for themselves. This decision was very much in keeping with the neoclassical architecture that was popular during the Enlightenment.

THE ARCHITECT

Ange-Jacques Gabriel, the architect of the Petit Trianon, was the son of an architect who had been employed for major building projects by Louis XV. Following in his father's footsteps, Gabriel was commissioned by Louis XV to build the Petit Trianon in 1762. He did so in the new neoclassical design that contrasted with the rococo style of the main palace at Versailles.

UNIQUE FACES

Each of the palace's four exterior walls has its own design which reflects the area it faces. The east facade, which originally faced a vegetable garden, is the most simple, while the west facade is grander with sweeping steps and four large Corinthian columns. The north and south walls are similarly adorned with rectangular columns, though the north facade is smaller by one floor due to the palace's slanted position.

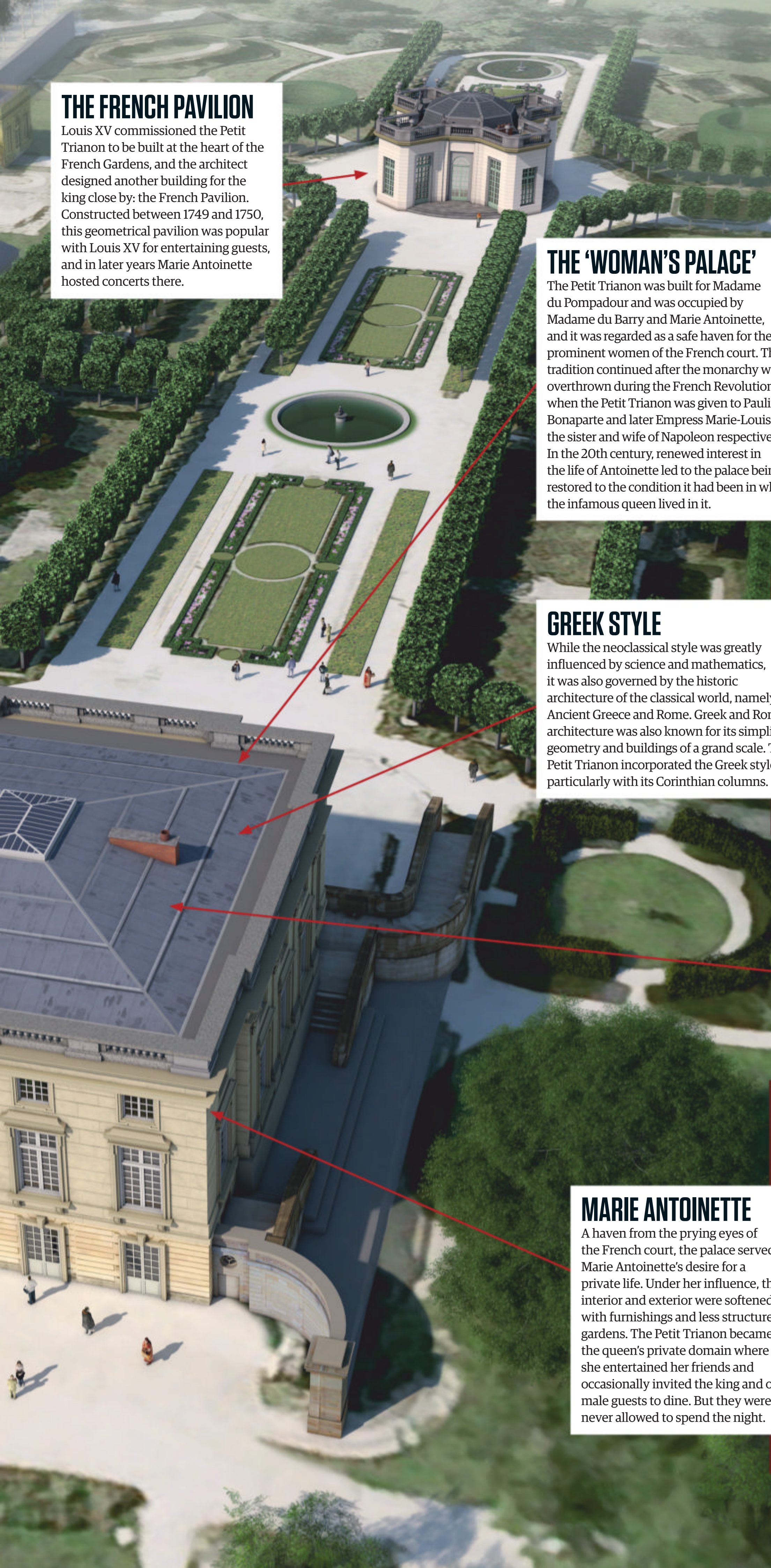
GEOMETRIC DESIGN

The Petit Trianon is designed in a simple, symmetrical cube shape. Cubes, along with spheres and cylinders, were popular in architecture during the Enlightenment and mirrored the period's fascination with geometry and science.

PRIVACY

Although a grand palace in its own right, the Petit Trianon was much more cosy and homely than the vast Palace of Versailles. It provided refuge from the court for its inhabitants, specifically Madame du Barry and Marie Antoinette, who revelled in the independence and freedom they enjoyed here.

The private room of Marie Antoinette at the Petit Trianon

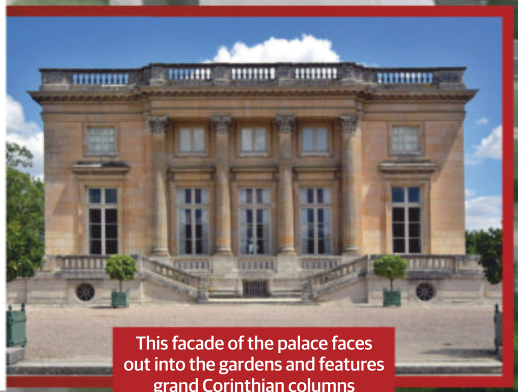


THE FRENCH PAVILION

Louis XV commissioned the Petit Trianon to be built at the heart of the French Gardens, and the architect designed another building for the king close by: the French Pavilion. Constructed between 1749 and 1750, this geometrical pavilion was popular with Louis XV for entertaining guests, and in later years Marie Antoinette hosted concerts there.

THE 'WOMAN'S PALACE'

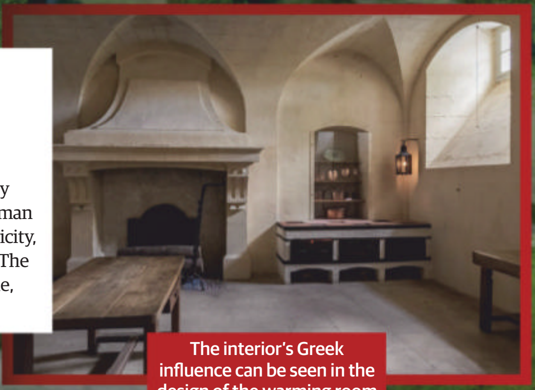
The Petit Trianon was built for Madame du Pompadour and was occupied by Madame du Barry and Marie Antoinette, and it was regarded as a safe haven for the prominent women of the French court. This tradition continued after the monarchy was overthrown during the French Revolution when the Petit Trianon was given to Pauline Bonaparte and later Empress Marie-Louise, the sister and wife of Napoleon respectively. In the 20th century, renewed interest in the life of Antoinette led to the palace being restored to the condition it had been in when the infamous queen lived in it.



This facade of the palace faces out into the gardens and features grand Corinthian columns

GREEK STYLE

While the neoclassical style was greatly influenced by science and mathematics, it was also governed by the historic architecture of the classical world, namely Ancient Greece and Rome. Greek and Roman architecture was also known for its simplicity, geometry and buildings of a grand scale. The Petit Trianon incorporated the Greek style, particularly with its Corinthian columns.



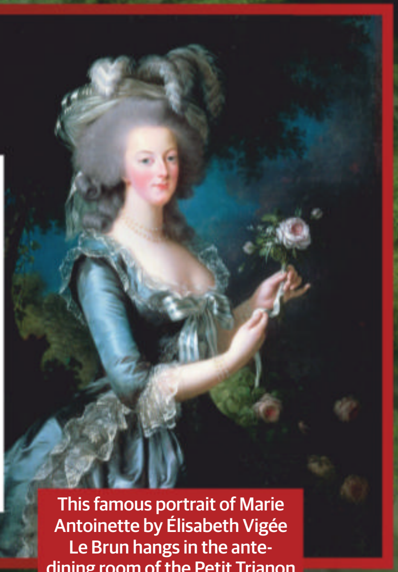
The interior's Greek influence can be seen in the design of the warming room

FLAT ROOF

These types of roof were typical of the neoclassical style and contrasted with the ornate sculpted roofs of the previously popular baroque and rococo architecture. The roof of the Petit Trianon is surrounded by a balustrade.

MARIE ANTOINETTE

A haven from the prying eyes of the French court, the palace served Marie Antoinette's desire for a private life. Under her influence, the interior and exterior were softened with furnishings and less structured gardens. The Petit Trianon became the queen's private domain where she entertained her friends and occasionally invited the king and other male guests to dine. But they were never allowed to spend the night.

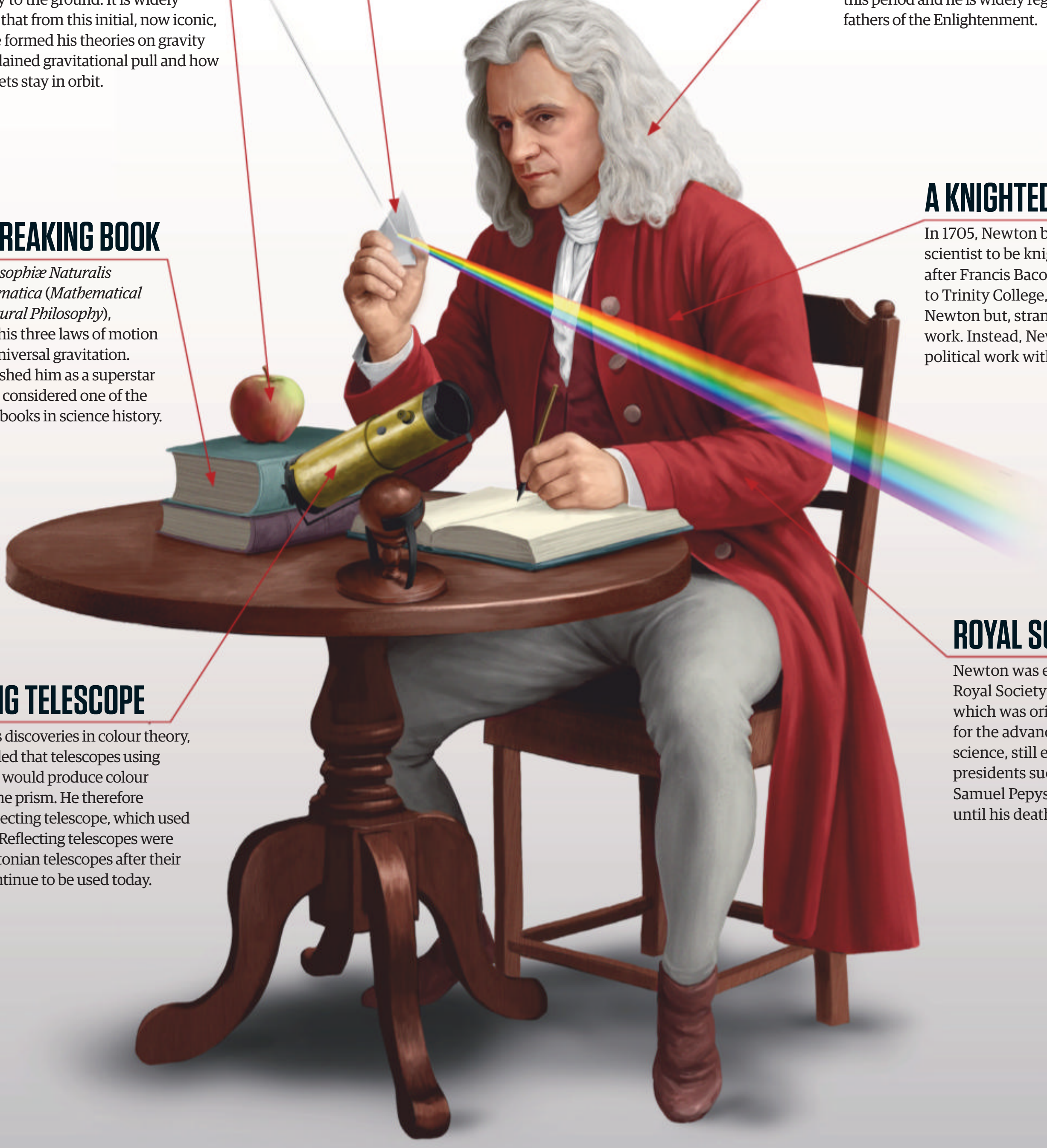


This famous portrait of Marie Antoinette by Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun hangs in the ante-dining room of the Petit Trianon

Illustration: Adrian Mann
Insets: © Alamy; © Getty Images

SIR ISAAC NEWTON

United Kingdom
1642 – 1727



DISCOVERING GRAVITY

After observing an apple fall from a tree in the garden of his home Woolsthorpe Manor, Newton questioned why it fell vertically to the ground. It is widely thought that from this initial, now iconic, event he formed his theories on gravity that explained gravitational pull and how the planets stay in orbit.

THEORY OF COLOUR

As a student of optics, Newton made the observation that white light passing through a prism refracted into the colours of the rainbow. This led him to determine that white light was, in fact, made up of a spectrum of colours. His findings influenced later scientists' work in physics and optics.

FATHER OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment was a time of scientific discovery and advancement when rational thought was prioritised. Newton's scientific theories in physics and astronomy proved to be highly influential during this period and he is widely regarded as one of the fathers of the Enlightenment.

GROUNDBREAKING BOOK

In his 1687 *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (*Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*), Newton set out his three laws of motion and the law of universal gravitation. *Principia* established him as a superstar of science and is considered one of the most important books in science history.

A KNIGHTED MAN

In 1705, Newton became the second scientist to be knighted by English royalty after Francis Bacon in 1603. While on a visit to Trinity College, Queen Anne knighted Newton but, strangely, not for his scientific work. Instead, Newton became a 'Sir' for his political work with the Whig party.

REFLECTING TELESCOPE

Having made his discoveries in colour theory, Newton concluded that telescopes using refracting lenses would produce colour dispersion like the prism. He therefore invented the reflecting telescope, which used mirrors instead. Reflecting telescopes were later called Newtonian telescopes after their inventor and continue to be used today.

ROYAL SOCIETY PRESIDENT

Newton was elected president of the Royal Society in 1703. The society, which was originally founded in 1660 for the advancement and promotion of science, still exists today and has boasted presidents such as Christopher Wren and Samuel Pepys. Newton served as president until his death in 1727.

Illustration: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

ROBERT HOOKE MICROSCOPE

An essential but imperfect implement that helped pioneer scientific observation

England, 1675

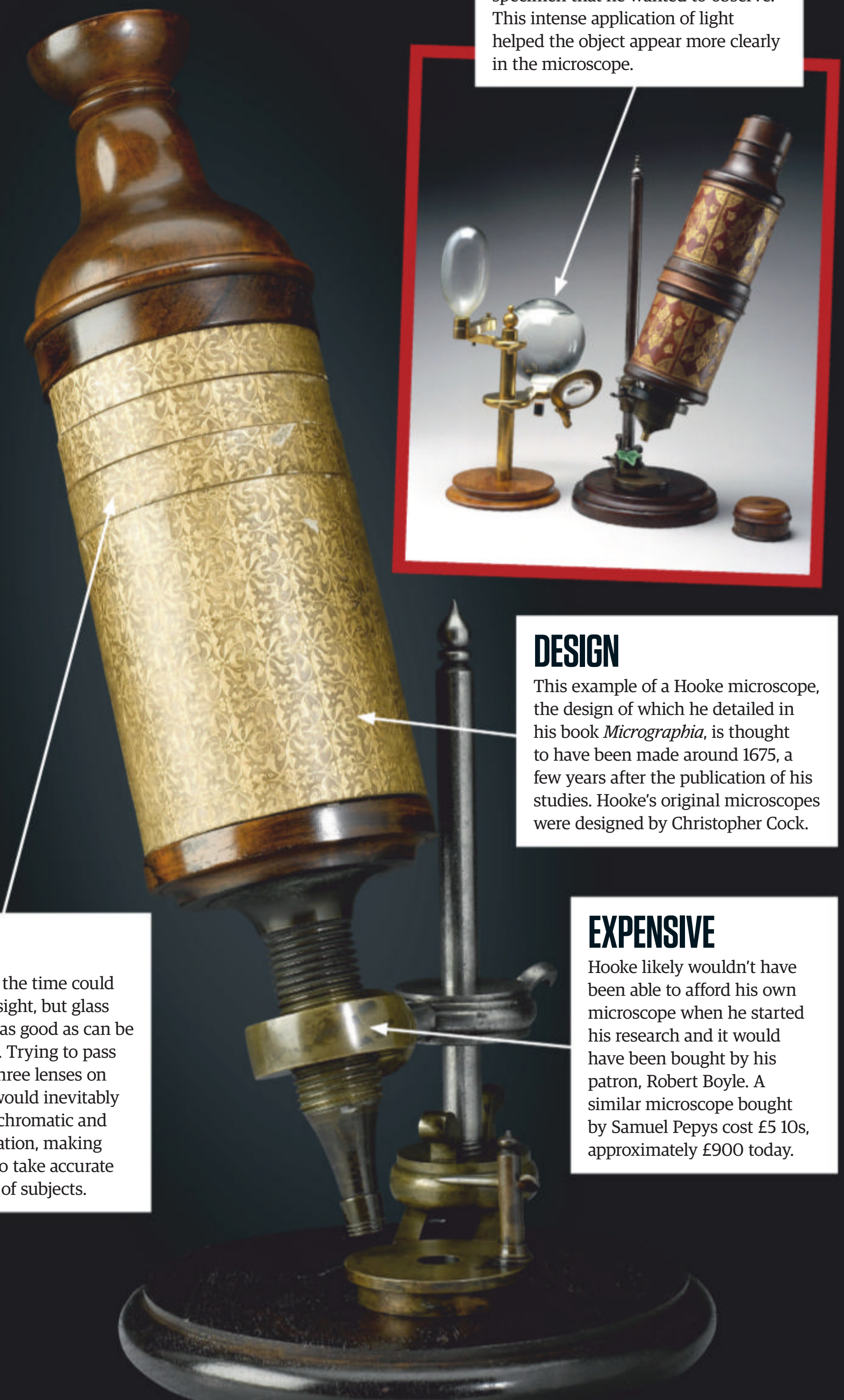
Alongside the great works of invention, philosophy, art and scientific understanding, the Enlightenment also saw advancements in our understanding of the natural world. Among those who made significant strides in this field was Robert Hooke, a physicist first and foremost, who made great progress with the use of microscopes.

Hooke had studied with Christoper Wren and Thomas Willis at Oxford University, where they had started using microscopes in their work. From 1663 he moved to London under the patronage of Robert Boyle and he began work on what would become his book examining creatures at high levels of magnification.

Use of magnification was not uncommon before the Enlightenment, but the microscope grew in use from the 1630s. While he didn't make his own microscopes, Hooke experimented with the lenses and ways to reduce the amount of distortion he was getting from the device. This included reducing the number of lenses being used, changing the shape, using different materials and applying light to the subject in different ways. While others in his time were working on the theory of how lenses could be improved and understanding the refraction of light, Hooke was working on practical solutions through experimentation and iteration.

Micrographia was published in 1665 with engravings of the creatures and items he had viewed under his compound microscope. Among the things he observed and recorded were a number of small insects, such as a gnat and a flea, as well as some cork. The latter proved to be significant as Hooke referred to its structure as having cells, which was the first use of the term in this context, adding to what would become cell theory.

Beyond *Micrographia*, Hooke contributed to our understanding of the elliptical orbits of the Earth and Moon, the diffraction or bending of light rays, the theory of evolution through observation of fossils and discovered the law of elasticity, known as Hooke's Law. Like other scientific minds of his generation, he wanted to better understand the world around him, from the movement of the stars to the biological structures of the smallest creatures on Earth.



LIGHT DIFFUSER
A big innovation developed by Hooke was the use of an oil lamp and water flask to diffuse and focus light on the specimen that he wanted to observe. This intense application of light helped the object appear more clearly in the microscope.

DESIGN
This example of a Hooke microscope, the design of which he detailed in his book *Micrographia*, is thought to have been made around 1675, a few years after the publication of his studies. Hooke's original microscopes were designed by Christopher Cock.

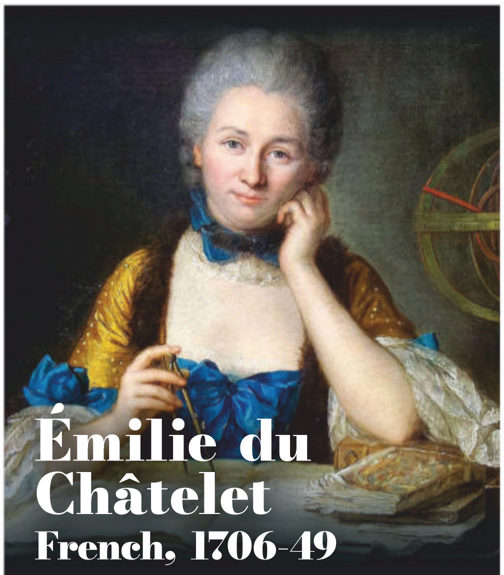
LENSES
Microscopes at the time could offer a lot of insight, but glass purity was not as good as can be achieved today. Trying to pass light through three lenses on these devices would inevitably lead to a lot of chromatic and spherical aberration, making it challenging to take accurate measurements of subjects.

EXPENSIVE
Hooke likely wouldn't have been able to afford his own microscope when he started his research and it would have been bought by his patron, Robert Boyle. A similar microscope bought by Samuel Pepys cost £5 10s, approximately £900 today.

Images: © Getty Images

GREAT MINDS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Men and women who helped contribute to the fields of science, philosophy, politics and more



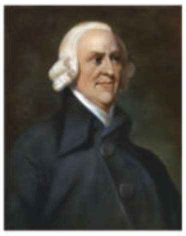
Émilie du Châtelet

French, 1706-49

Gabrielle-Émilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, Marquise du Châtelet, was one of the great intellectuals of her era as well as the intellectual and romantic partner of Voltaire, among other lovers. Her work was primarily focused in mathematics and physics where she wrote a number of treatises, including one on the nature of fire that competed against Voltaire's in a competition held by the Academy of Sciences. The last years of her life were spent working on a translation of Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, published posthumously with a foreword by Voltaire in 1756.

ADAM SMITH

SCOTTISH, 1723-90

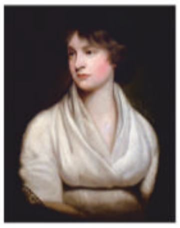


Working as a political, economic and social thinker, Adam Smith's most famous contribution to the world of modern thought was *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), which contributed greatly to concepts of political economy and how nations evolve over time. His earliest works were concerned with human nature, however, from which he built his political ideas. He travelled in France meeting some of the Enlightenment figures of that nation prior to the revolution.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

ENGLISH, 1759-97

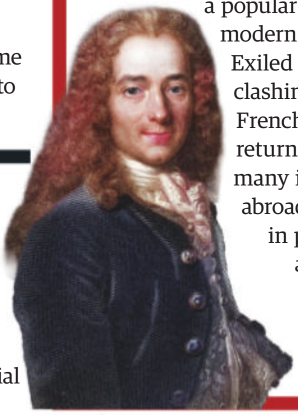
Considered one of the earliest feminist authors, Mary Wollstonecraft started out as a teacher and governess. She moved into publishing, finding a platform for her views and advocating for the social and educational equality of women. Her most famous work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), was focused largely on this topic while also taking its title from Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*. She left England for France to witness the revolution and wrote about her travels around Europe, which included social observations.



Voltaire

French, 1694 – 1778

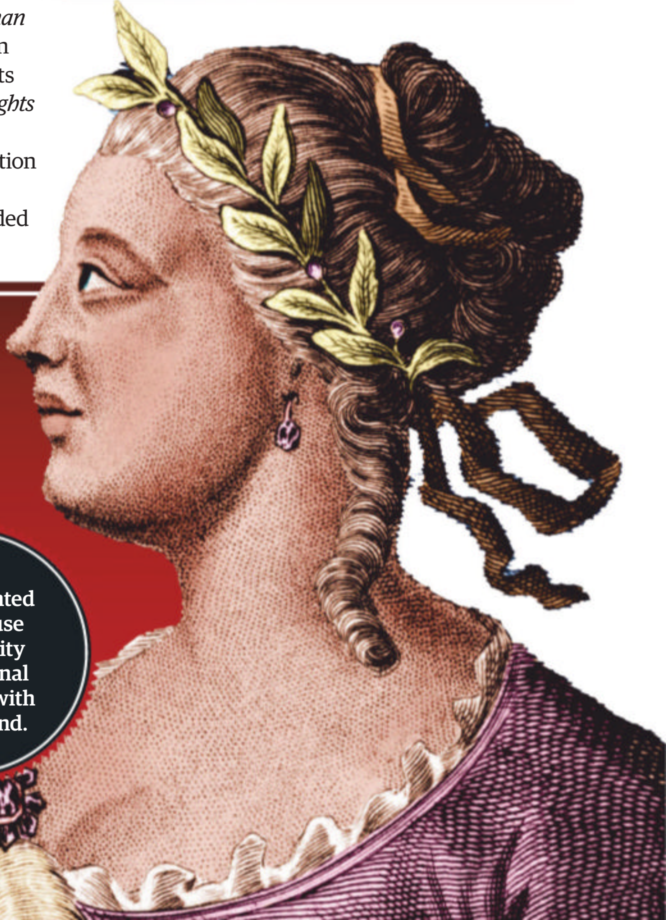
Making a name for himself as a literary wit and freethinker, Voltaire became a hugely influential figure in the build up to the revolutionary period of the American and French uprisings. He was a great advocate against despotism and cruelty, becoming a popular mouthpiece for the modern concepts of reason. Exiled to England after clashing with a powerful French family, he later returned after picking up many ideas from his time abroad, which he expressed in plays, works of history and philosophy. He is celebrated as one of France's great writers.



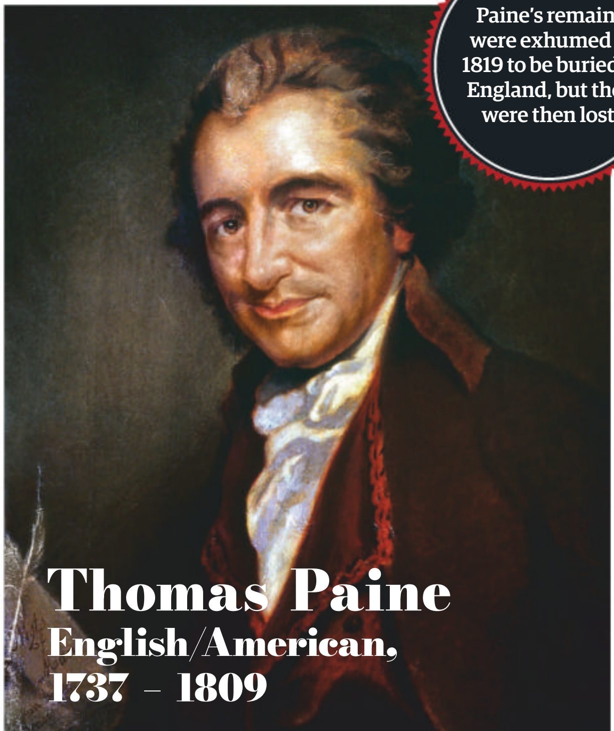
Laura Bassi

Italian, 1711-78

A child prodigy and the first woman to become a physics professor at a European university, Laura Bassi was a trailblazer for her time. Taken under the wing of a University of Bologna professor, her intelligence became of interest to the other educators and to the archbishop. She attended the Bologna Academy of Sciences and showcased her intellect with a public debate against several professors, discussing topics ranging from metaphysics to moral philosophy. She earned the position of professor in physics, still in her early 20s. She taught from her home, not being allowed to teach on university grounds, but still rose to the role of chair of physics by 1776, the first woman to assume the role.



Bassi experimented with the use of electricity for medicinal purposes with her husband.

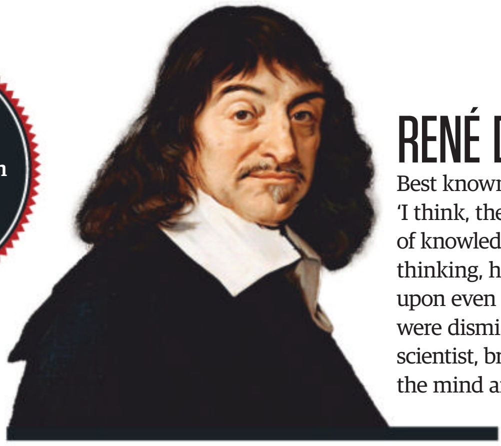


Paine's remains were exhumed in 1819 to be buried in England, but they were then lost.

Thomas Paine

English/American, 1737 – 1809

Born in England, Paine was one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, with his writings being a massive influence on the American Revolutionary movement. His pamphlet, *Common Sense*, was a particularly powerful text in its deconstruction of monarchical government and a call for independence, not just representation. Following the revolution he built on his political philosophies of republican governance with *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason*, which defended the French Revolution and debated the role of religion in modern communities respectively. Despite his influence and roles in government, Paine often found himself struggling financially and was vilified by some for his opposition to organised religion and economic inequality.

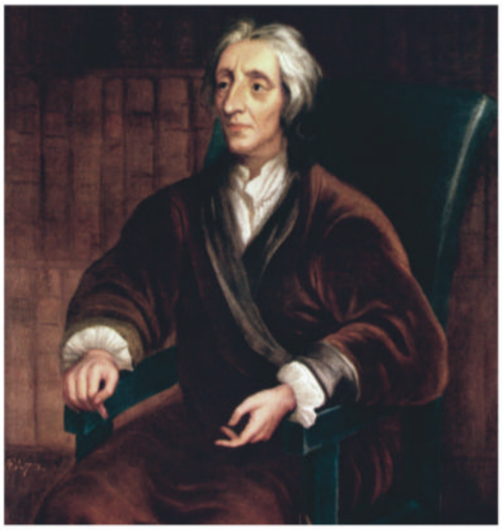


RENÉ DESCARTES FRENCH, 1596 – 1650

Best known for his dictum "Cogito, ergo sum", meaning 'I think, therefore I am', Descartes stripped down ideas of knowledge to the simple concept that when he was thinking, he was existing and that this could be relied upon even when all sense and previous understanding were dismissed. He was also a mathematician and scientist, bringing some of those skills to his concepts of the mind and his understanding of world around him.

JOHN LOCKE ENGLISH, 1632 – 1704

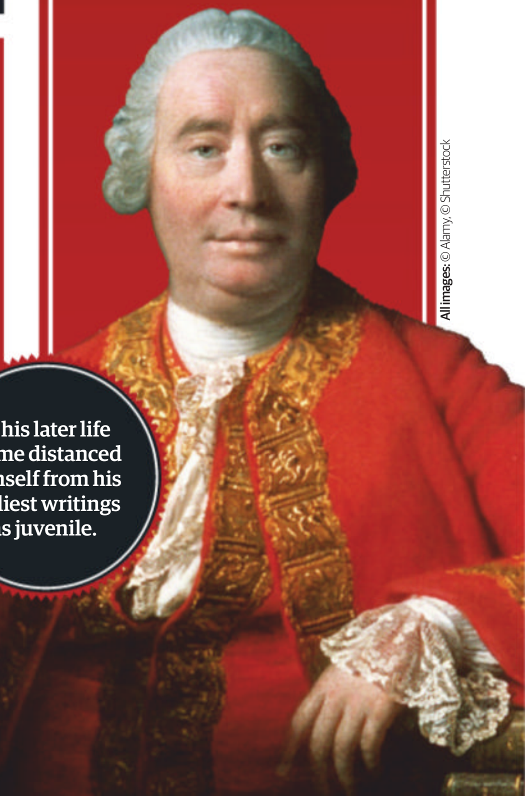
Philosopher Locke is one of the most significant figures at the birth of the Enlightenment. He is credited as one of the founders of empiricism and political liberalism, inspiring the ideas that would ultimately create the Constitution of the United States. He believed in a social contract between the people of a nation and that the religious beliefs of all should be respected. He advocated for the concept of natural moral law that lives outside of religious doctrine.



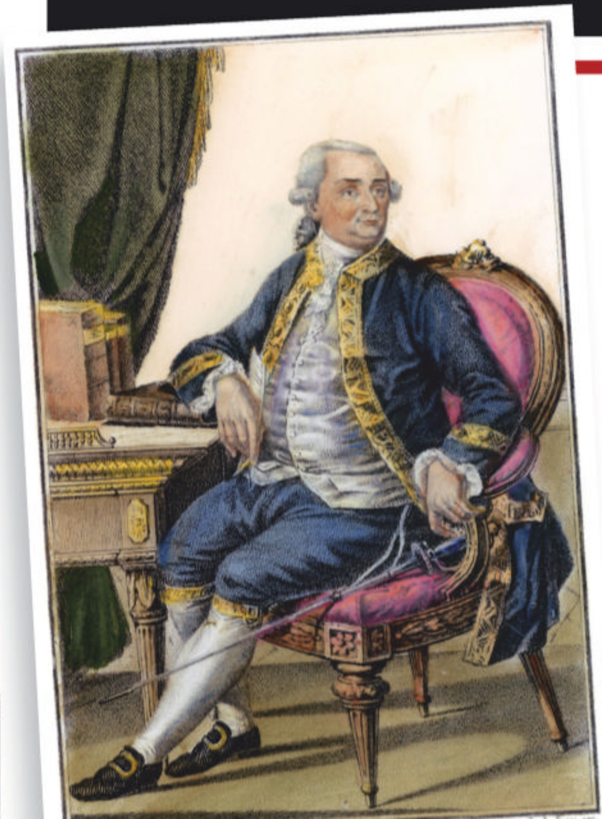
David Hume

Scottish, 1711-76

A philosopher, historian and economist, Hume was inspired by the scientific approach of Isaac Newton and the philosophy of John Locke to develop his own theories about the nature of the mind and how we accumulate knowledge. This resulted in a number of works, including *A Treatise of Human Nature*, written across two books, that laid out the foundations of a philosophical system. He ultimately reasoned that experience is the only true knowledge one can gather. This and his later works proved to be hugely influential on other philosophers, including Immanuel Kant.



In his later life Hume distanced himself from his earliest writings as juvenile.



Cesare Beccaria

Italian, 1738-94

While others here excelled in the fields of philosophy, politics, mathematics or science, Beccaria's great contribution to modern thought was in the field of criminal justice reform. Raised in a Jesuit school and going on to study law, Beccaria became involved in the Enlightenment circles of Milan from 1760, eventually writing *Crimes and Punishments* (*Dei Delitti e Delle Pene*) in 1764. Built on the utilitarian belief that policy should do the greatest good for the greatest number, he advocated for an end to torture and capital punishment as well as the opening up of trial proceedings for the utmost transparency.

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Q&A

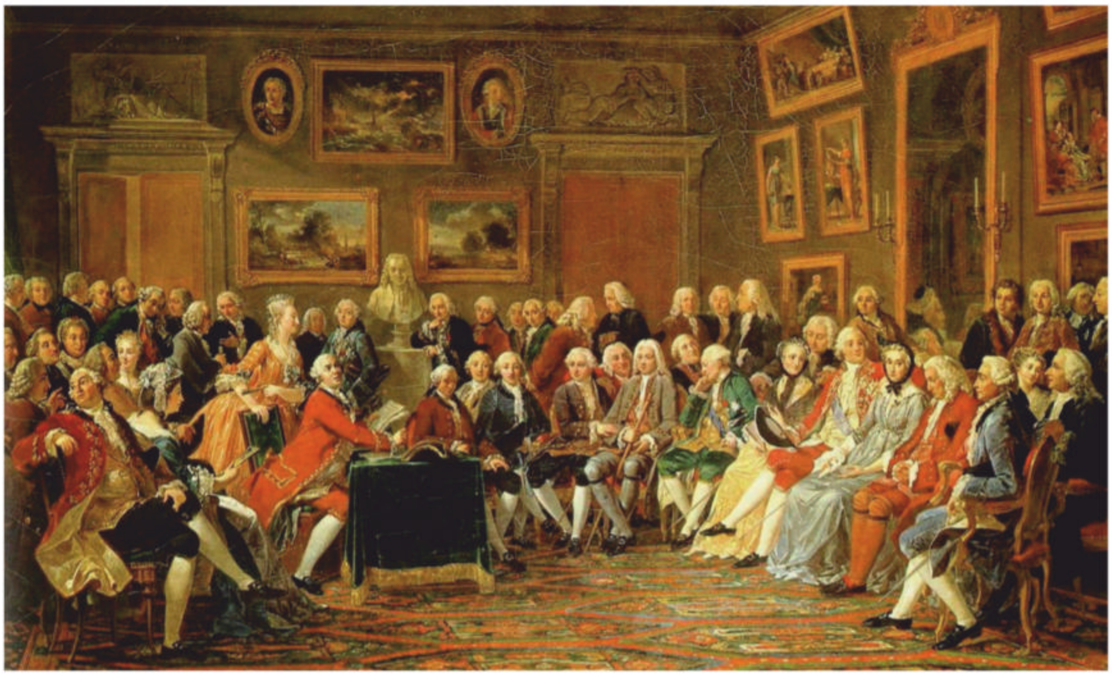
EXPLAINING THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Professor John Robertson ponders how the historiography of the movement has changed

How has our understanding of what constituted the Enlightenment changed?

Historians’ interest in the Enlightenment is actually quite recent, gathering pace only after the Second World War. Until then, understanding of the ‘what, when and where’ of the Enlightenment was quite simple. It was a movement of philosophers and men of letters committed to the application of reason to human affairs, and therefore hostile to established churches, in favour of toleration, and, in some cases, actively irreligious. Its period was the 18th century, with a ‘pre-Enlightenment’ in the late 17th century; it ended in the French Revolution. Its principal location was France, where the ‘philosophes’ led by Voltaire proclaimed a new age of lumières; but it had a significant outpost in Germany, where the philosopher Immanuel Kant defined Aufklärung by the motto ‘to dare to know’.

The picture now is very different. Enlightenment philosophers are recognised to have been equally interested in the power of the emotions as with the triumph of reason. Toleration is seen to have been championed by religious believers as well as sceptics. The ‘where’ of Enlightenment has expanded too, and now covers many more parts of Europe, from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia, as well as Scotland, England and North America. The ‘when’ remains primarily the 18th century, but evidence for the reception of Enlightenment in Eastern Europe, Greece and Latin America is taking it into the 19th century.



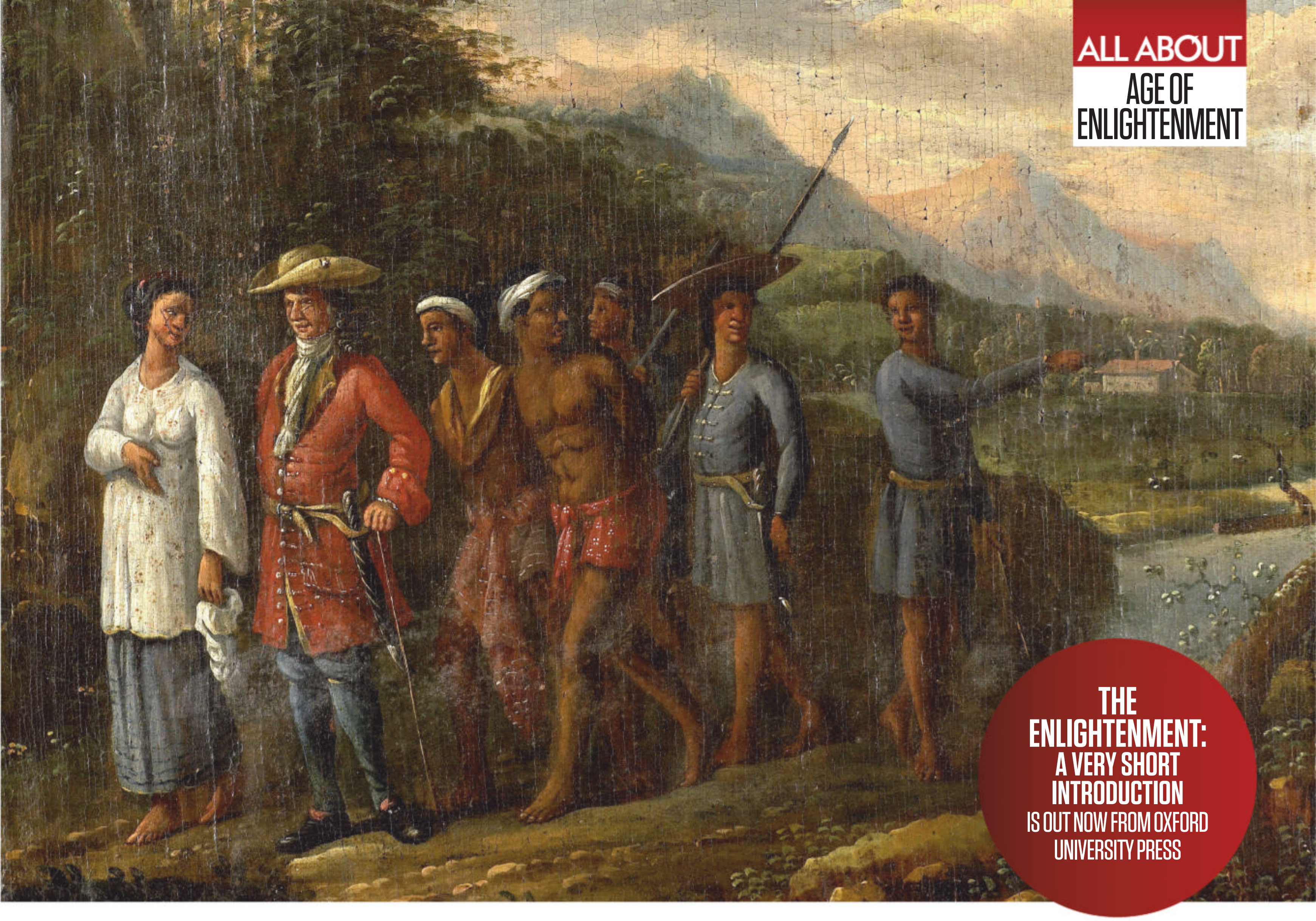
Have contemporary concerns influenced historians’ understanding of Enlightenment – and do they still do so?

Yes, this was true from the start and is still very much the case. Some of the earliest historical work on the Enlightenment was done by French literary scholars who rediscovered Voltaire’s plea for religious toleration to counter the anti-Semitism of the ‘Dréyfus affair’ in the 1890s and 1900s. After the Second World War, Italian as well as French and German historians turned to the Enlightenment because it offered a better European past than the one they had just experienced. More recently, since the 1990s, the fall of the Berlin Wall, along with the rise of new forms of religious extremism, have given Enlightenment studies a fresh sense of contemporary relevance, many historians explicitly identifying Enlightenment with defence of ‘modern’ values. Just now, however, we may be seeing a pause in this enthusiasm, as historians respond to the criticism that Enlightenment thinkers failed to consider the consequences of European commercial expansion, and in particular the evil of the African slave trade.

John Robertson is professor emeritus of the History of Political Thought at the University of Cambridge, specialising in the Enlightenment. He is the author of *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680-1760* (2005) and *The Enlightenment: A Very Short Introduction* (2005).

To what extent does the Enlightenment present historians with problems of definition – and why?

Problems of definition are inherent in discussion of Enlightenment – perhaps more so than many historians acknowledge. Some of them are of historians’ own making. As the intellectual content and the geographical extent of Enlightenment have expanded, historians have become conscious of the differences in what they study. Inclined to accommodate rather than exclude, they now think in terms of multiple Enlightenments:



THE ENLIGHTENMENT: A VERY SHORT INTRODUCTION IS OUT NOW FROM OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LEFT Our concept of what constitutes the Enlightenment has shifted over the years

ABOVE One element of the Enlightenment that is now being discussed is the period's connection to slavery

national as well as international, religious as well as irreligious, moderate as well as radical. No longer, therefore, should we speak of the Enlightenment. But the problem of definition goes deeper. 'Enlightenment' has always been a value-laden term, inviting argument for or against. Historians also have to confront a long tradition of philosophic critique of Enlightenment, stretching from Hegel to the Postmodernists, that the Enlightenment represents the projection of Western values onto others to assert superiority. In response to this critique many historians have doubled down in Enlightenment's defence, asserting its 'modernity'. But in doing so they admit that definition of Enlightenment is a choice of values.

What are some of the most serious criticisms of the Enlightenment?

The chief criticism has long been that the values and goals which Enlightenment proclaimed as universal were actually European, and were too often used to oppress others. But this accusation has been sharpened in recent years by highlighting the evidence that prominent Enlightenment thinkers accepted the idea of a hierarchy of human natures, and placed 'Africans' in particular at the bottom of that hierarchy, while turning a blind eye to the slave trade which contributed so much to Europe's and especially Britain's prosperity in the 18th century. Addressing the question, scholars such as Silvia Sebastiani have demonstrated the complexity of the discussion: very few Enlightenment thinkers got anywhere close to the extremes of 19th-century race theory. Many, by contrast, were strongly critical of ancient slavery and medieval serfdom, and also of European commercial empires. It is undeniable, even so, that the great majority were indifferent to the slave trade and plantation slavery and uncurious about their economic contribution, even after campaigners began to highlight the horrors of the trade and of conditions on the Caribbean and American plantations.

> *"Enlightenment philosophers were equally as interested in the power of the emotions"*

What is the greatest legacy of Enlightenment today?

Historians should be wary of long-distance 'legacies': too many events and intellectual developments have occurred since 1800, changing the way we live, think and organise ourselves politically, for Enlightenment to be held directly responsible, for better or worse. But the feature of Enlightenment which I'd underline would be the commitment of its proponents to take ideas seriously and discuss them in public, the better to influence public opinion by informed, reasoned argument. The conditions in which they did so were very different: they did not live in democracies, there were no mass media. But there is now a telling contrast with our world, in which electronic media prioritise the shortest, simplest and crudest expressions of opinion, unsupported by argument, on the ground that any expression of opinion is as good as another. Enlightenment philosophers didn't treat their publics like that: for them Enlightenment was persuasion by argument on subjects on which they were informed, while recognising that on other subjects others would be better informed.

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ENLIGHTENMENT ARCHITECTURE

Amazing buildings inspired by neoclassical and rococo ideas

① MONTICELLO

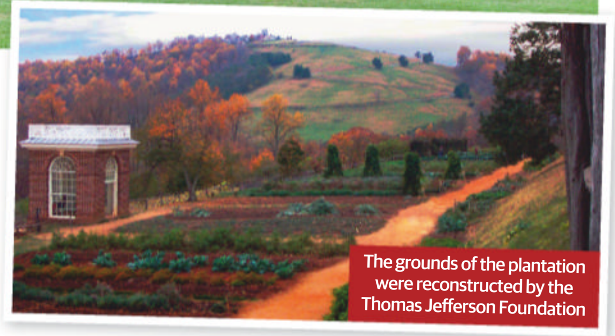
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, USA

Drawing from the Classical Revival movement of the Enlightenment, Monticello was famously the home of United States Founding Father Thomas Jefferson. It was built between 1768 and 1809, with a bulk of the construction being completed in 1784 when Jefferson left for France to be America's representative there. Here he was exposed to the revival of interest in ancient Roman architecture that had swept through the Continent and began his plans for expansions and revisions to Monticello. The mansion we see today is the result of those plans with its 35 rooms, each a different shape, its massive gardens and central octagonal dome, which was the first of its kind in America.

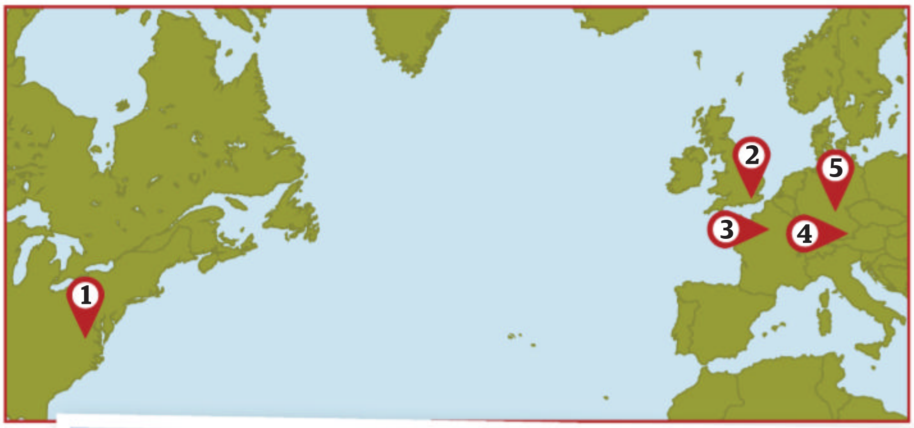
The site passed through several hands following Jefferson's death, leaving behind debts that needed to be paid. It was seized by the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Eventually, following campaigns to have the building in public hands, it was purchased by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation in 1923 and major restoration work began to bring the building and its grounds back to the state they enjoyed under Jefferson's care. Designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1987, Monticello remains part of the University of Virginia campus.

Open daily from 10am to 4:30pm. Tickets range from $22 to $99 for adults for different parts of the grounds

Monticello is considered to be one of the best examples of neoclassical architecture in America



The grounds of the plantation were reconstructed by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation



Additional restoration of the gardens took place in 2010

② CHISWICK HOUSE

LONDON, ENGLAND

This 18th-century complex of Chiswick House and gardens was designed by renowned architect William Kent under the patronage of Richard Boyle and constructed between 1725 and 1738. The ability to travel around Europe for this generation, known as the Grand Tour, proved to be hugely influential on the artists and architects of the Enlightenment era. Chiswick House was a great example of this and was an early exemplar of the move away from the baroque style that had been prevalent.

Interestingly, the choice was made to contrast the symmetrical design of the building with a more natural landscape around it rather than a formally designed garden as you might have seen elsewhere. This choice would go on to influence other major green spaces, including Central Park in New York.

The building passed through different hands in the years that followed, including a spell as a mental health institute from 1892 to 1928. It was taken over by the Ministry of Works in 1948 in need of much repair and restoration, later passing over to English Heritage in 1984.

Open daily from 7am to 5pm. Adult tickets for £11, children £6

The rococo building is now part of the French National Archives

3 HÔTEL DE SOUBISE

PARIS, FRANCE

A fantastic representation of rococo style, the Hôtel de Soubise is one of the great treasures of Paris. The term hôtel doesn't mean a building for holiday makers in this instance, but rather translates as stately home and was renovated for the prince and princess of Soubise in the early 1700s. The wider building dated back to 1553, replacing a manor house from 1375, but architect Pierre-Alexis Delamair was given the task of modernising it for its new residence. He looked to the new movement of rocaille, or rococo, that used rocklike (hence the name) and scroll motifs in incredibly elaborate and decorative techniques. The Salon de la Princesse is perhaps the best example in the building of how this style has been utilised with its gilded wooded carvings, cherubs, mirrors and pastel tones.

The Hôtel de Soubise was acquired by the state in 1808 and used as the National Archives under Napoleon, which has remained its purpose to this day. The archives hold documentation dating back to the 7th century and the hôtel is now open to the public to visit as a museum both for its archives and the fabulous architecture of the building itself.

Closed on Tuesdays. Open from 10am weekdays and 2pm at weekends until 5:30pm. €5 entry (free on first Sunday of the month)

The complex includes a hunting lodge with a hall of mirrors

4 SCHLOSS NYMPHENBURG

MUNICH, GERMANY

Work on the construction of the Nymphenburg Palace began in 1664, a couple of years after the birth of heir to the throne Max Emanuel. It was the summer residence of Ferdinand Maria, elector of Bavaria and Henriette Adelaide of Savoy. Italian architect Agostino Barelli was tasked with building this new home on the edge of court lands, west of the city of Munich, in a baroque style. At the time this was well outside the city and surrounded by countryside. Emanuel built upon this initial design once he was elector from 1680 with the aid of architect Henrico Zuccalli with two new pavilions added, linked to the original by galleries.

The big push came after Emanuel returned from France, following the Spanish War of Succession, with artists in tow. A new plan for the design of the palace and its gardens was implemented with rococo interiors and symmetrical grounds. Successive electors built on this, decorating further rooms inspired by the latest Enlightenment trends. The palace continued to be a residence for the Bavarian royal family well into the 19th century. The palace and grounds are now run by the Bavarian Palace Administration as part of the Free State of Bavaria.

Open from 10am to 4pm in off season and 9am to 6pm in spring and summer, entrance costs €8

5 BASILIKA VIERZEHNHEILIGEN

BAD STAFFELSTEIN, GERMANY

The Basilica of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, to use its translated name, was completed in 1772 and considered to be a baroque masterpiece. Therefore, the exterior of the church is slightly less interesting to us in this context than what's inside. Upon entering the basilica you will see the central altar of grace showcasing the 14 holy helpers of the church's name, being saints who are thought to be particularly effective in offering aid against disease. They are said to have appeared at the site of the church to a shepherd boy in 1446.

Vierzehnheiligen has been a pilgrimage church for many centuries with people journeying to ask for aid. It was designed by Balthasar Neumann who also built other pilgrimage churches in Germany between 1712 and 1753. Today, this impressive structure can be visited by anyone and a multimedia centre is available to those looking to learn more in the Franciscan monastery attached to the church. There you can delve deeper into the history of the basilica, the pilgrimages and the Franciscan order.

Open 7:30 to 5pm in winter and 6:30 to 7pm in summer. Guided tours are available on request

The basilica is located about 85km north of Nuremberg

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A MERRY ROMAN CHRISTMAS
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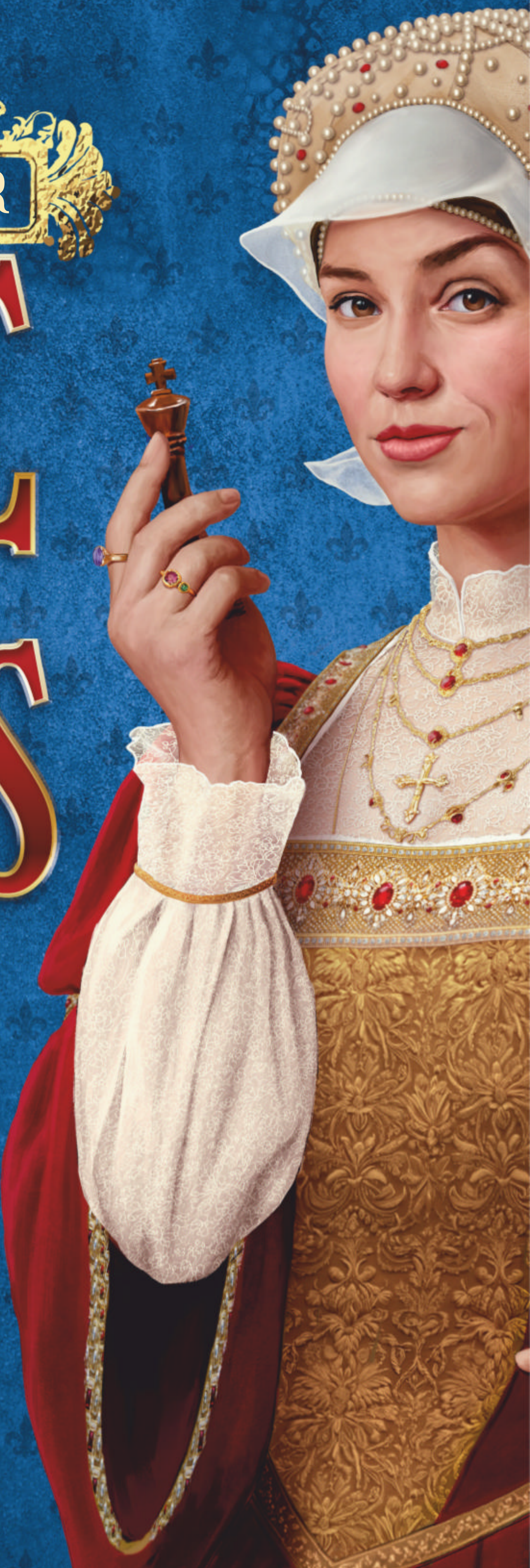
THE GREAT SURVIVOR

ANNE OF CLEVES

How she turned rejection into lifelong fortune, favour and independence

Written by Emily Staniforth



The legacy of Anne of Cleves, Henry VIII's fourth wife, is one of paradoxes. To some historians, she is the discarded and unwanted wife. To others she is the lucky one. Despite the fact that her disastrous marriage only lasted around six months, Anne came out of the other side relatively unscathed and as one of the wealthiest women in England. The life she built in England was extraordinary, particularly when you consider the fates of her fellow wives, and she was able to be independent and self-reliant to an extent, a remarkable achievement for a woman of her time. ▶

Illustration: Kevin McGivern

EXPERT BIOS

ELIZABETH NORTON

Elizabeth is an historian who specialises in English queens, particularly the Tudors. She is the author of *Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII's Discarded Bride* (Amberley Publishing, 2009) as well as biographies of Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour and Katherine Parr.

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HEATHER R DARSIE

Heather is an independent researcher specialising in early modern history. She is the author of *Anna, Duchess of Cleves: The King's 'Beloved Sister'* (Amberley Publishing, 2019) and other historical publications. She is also an attorney and runs the historical website maidensandmanuscripts.com.

LIFE IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Born in 1515 in Düsseldorf in the Duchy of Berg, which was part of the powerful Holy Roman Empire, Anne was the child of the Duke of Cleves, a prominent nobleman. Alongside her sisters, she was brought up by her mother to be the perfect German wife. "Anne would have learned how to embroider, sew, mend clothes and weave," says historical researcher Heather R Darsie. "She would have learned to read and write German, and was exposed to Latin. Anne would have been taught basic maths and how to run a household, including cooking skills. All of these were seen as important courses for a German woman of her status." As was the case for many noblewomen of her time, Anne's destiny was to marry well and according to the wishes of the men around her. Little did she know that the eventual match would be to a notorious foreign monarch.

Contrary to much of the Holy Roman Empire, which during Anne's lifetime was a centre for the developing Lutheran religion, the Cleves children were raised in the Catholic faith. Historian Elizabeth Norton describes Anne's childhood as strict and one of isolation, with a heavy focus on religious values. "[The Duchy of] Cleves had been very influenced by humanism, particularly Erasmus, so they were quite reformed," she says. "They were looking for reform within the Church rather than outside. Anne is a Catholic and remains a lifelong Catholic by all accounts."

Apart from this limited information, little else is known about much of Anne's early life.

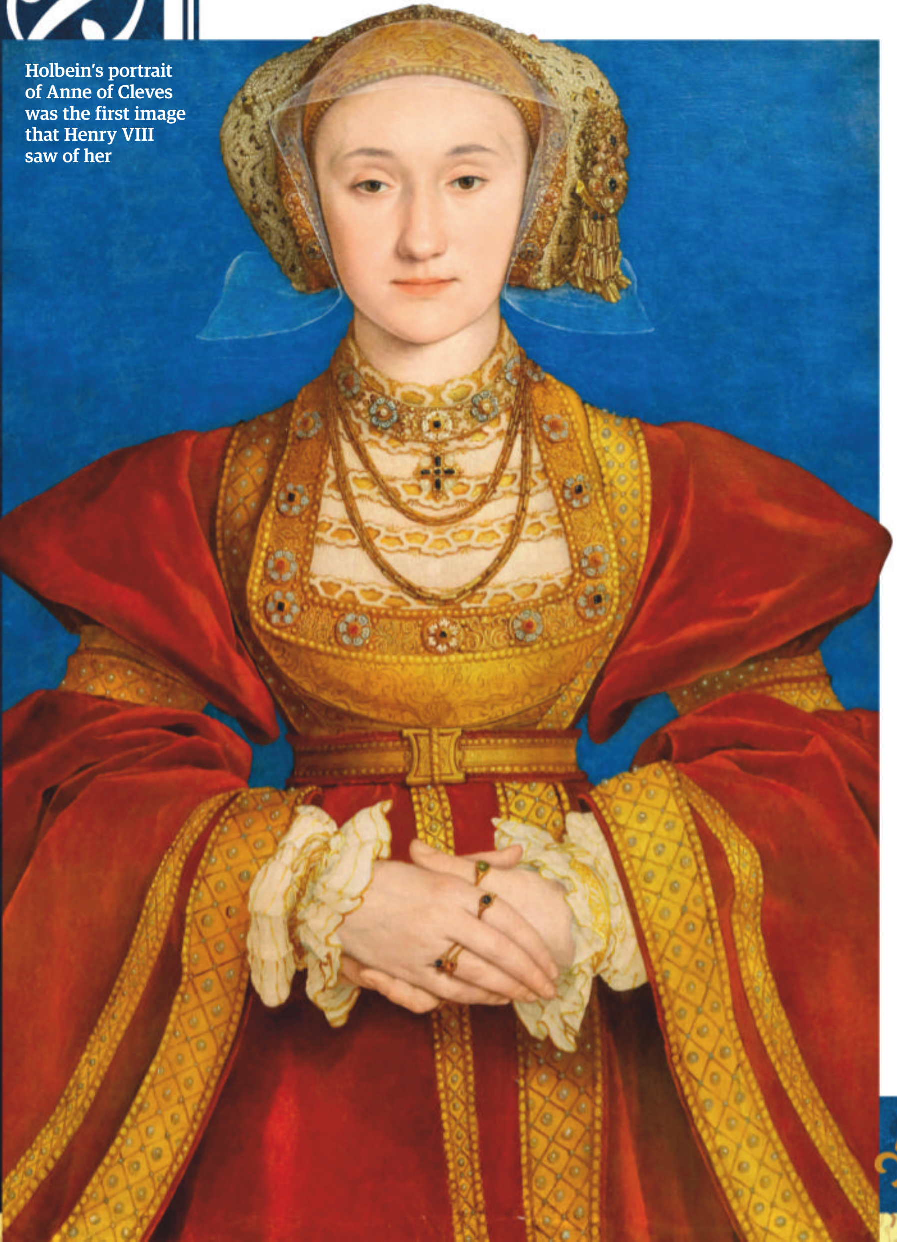
HENRY'S HUNT FOR A NEW WIFE

On 24 October 1537, Henry VIII's third wife Jane Seymour died. Only 12 days earlier she had given birth to Henry's long-desired son and heir, Edward. Henry appears to have been devastated at the loss of his wife, especially as she had finally provided him with a son, and it is recorded that he locked himself away and refused to see his advisors for a time. However, it was not long before the king was starting to think about his next marriage.

Henry VIII was certainly no stranger to looking for love, having replaced both of his first two wives with women he had fallen for at his court. However, this time was different. Instead of courting another English noblewoman, Henry started to look outside of his own realm for a foreign prospect. "He doesn't have many options," explains Norton. "Jane Seymour died suddenly and Henry didn't have another English candidate waiting in the wings, which he would normally expect to do. So he goes back to the traditional way of making a royal marriage, which is a diplomatic one."

Having attempted and failed to find a match with Mary of Guise and Christina of Denmark, Henry was not having much luck. His options were more limited by the fact that the French king and

> Growing up, Anne's destiny was to marry well and according to the wishes of the men around her



Holbein's portrait of Anne of Cleves was the first image that Henry VIII saw of her

AN ARTIST AT

Was Holbein to blame for the failure of Anne's marriage?

Hans Holbein the Younger had painted everyone of importance, from Henry VIII himself to Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell. He was so trusted in his ability to capture a person's true likeness that he was sent to paint the portraits of potential overseas marriage candidates for Henry after the death of the king's third wife Jane Seymour. As well as painting women like Christina of Denmark, Holbein visited the Duchy of Cleves to create a portrait of Anne and her sister. Anne's portrait eventually made its way to Henry, who approved of her. However, when Anne arrived in England Henry took issue with her appearance and stated that she did not look like her portrait. So what went wrong?

"Holbein is by far the best painter of his century," says Norton. "I think he's possibly found the flattering angle. She's painted facing straight out which is a really unusual pose for a woman in the period, suggesting that [this angle] is possibly how she looked best. But nobody said it was a bad likeness. And actually, Anne will later complain that she's much better looking than Katherine Parr and she can't understand why Henry has married Katherine and hasn't come back to her, and nobody seems to disagree."

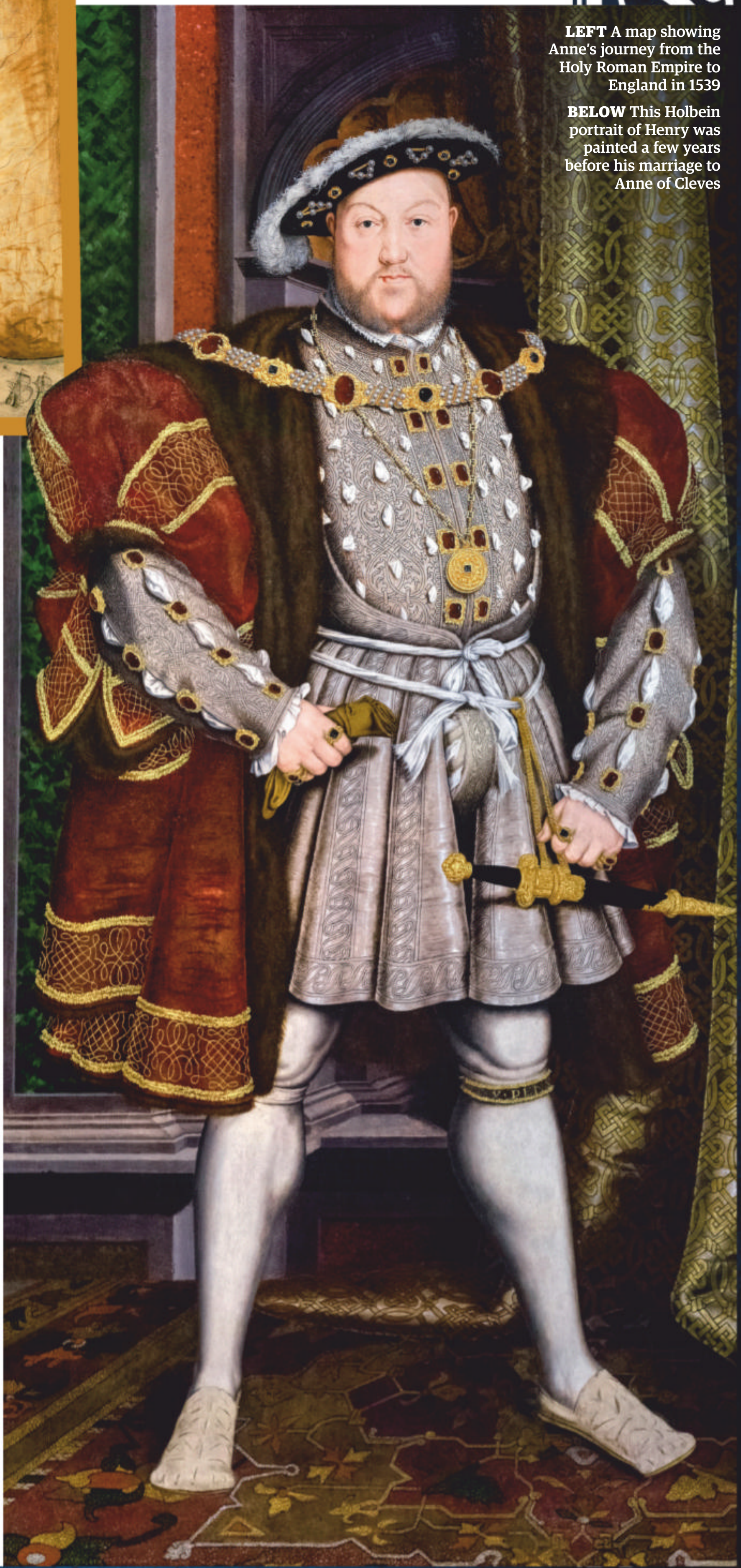
Seeing as Holbein was never punished for his role in facilitating the marriage, while an important advisor like Cromwell was, and that he continued to be the go-to painter at court, it is likely that Henry used the portrait as a convenient excuse. Undoubtedly the king's pride had been injured after his disastrous first meeting with Anne, and he needed a way to vent his disappointment without drawing any attention to his own failings.

LEFT A map showing Anne's journey from the Holy Roman Empire to England in 1539

BELOW This Holbein portrait of Henry was painted a few years before his marriage to Anne of Cleves

the Holy Roman Emperor had formed a defensive alliance that threatened England. It was Thomas Cromwell, Henry's closest advisor at the time, who suggested that a marriage alliance with Cleves may be a good idea as Sybilla of Cleves was married to the Elector of Saxony, who formed part of a Protestant defensive league against the Holy Roman Emperor. Sybilla's sisters, Anne and Amalia, were unmarried and as such were both considered ▶

FAULT



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ANNE'S DOMAIN

The former queen was gifted several properties as part of her annulment

Richmond Palace

Though it no longer exists, Richmond Palace in London was an impressive building that had been erected by Henry VII on the site of an older palace. The king loved his royal residence on the River Thames and died there in 1509. His son, Henry VIII, was not as enamoured with Richmond and, instead of living there, gave it to Anne of Cleves after their annulment. Richmond was a stunning palace where Anne spent much of her time during Henry's reign. She even dined with and was visited by Henry while at Richmond. Mary I spent her honeymoon at Richmond and Elizabeth I resided there during her reign, hunting in the palace's park and hosting plays by William Shakespeare.

Bletchingley Palace

Anne was in possession of Bletchingley Palace from the time of her annulment until March 1547 when Edward VI asked her to leave, giving the property to his master of revels. In lieu of Bletchingley, Anne was moved to Penshurst Place, which was located just a few miles away from Hever Castle, which she also owned.

Hever Castle

Historically the property of the Boleyn family and Anne Boleyn's childhood home, Hever Castle in Kent became the property of the Crown in 1540. Ironically, the castle was then given to Anne of Cleves as part of her annulment settlement. She made significant alterations to the residence, installing staircases and galleries, and spent increasing amounts of time there during the reign of Edward VI. She was close to Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and Darsie posits that "it is not wild to think that Elizabeth might have occasionally visited with Anne at Hever".

Lewes House

Some of the properties Anne was given as a result of her annulment allowed her to earn money through renting them out. One such surviving residence is located in Lewes, Sussex. It is now referred to as the Anne of Cleves House, despite the fact she never actually lived there, and remains unchanged from the time she owned it.

Hever Castle in Kent was once owned by the Boleyn family

as a match for Henry. Anne was the older of the two but had previously been promised in marriage to the Duke of Lorraine as a child. However, her parents insisted that the engagement had been broken off and that she was free to marry.

To persuade Henry of the sisters' suitability, Cromwell arranged for the painter Hans Holbein to travel to Cleves and capture the likenesses of the marital candidates. Holbein's infamous portrait of Anne is arguably how most people think of and remember her. The work was instrumental in persuading Henry of her beauty and by October 1539 a contract of marriage had been signed.

ROCKY BEGINNINGS

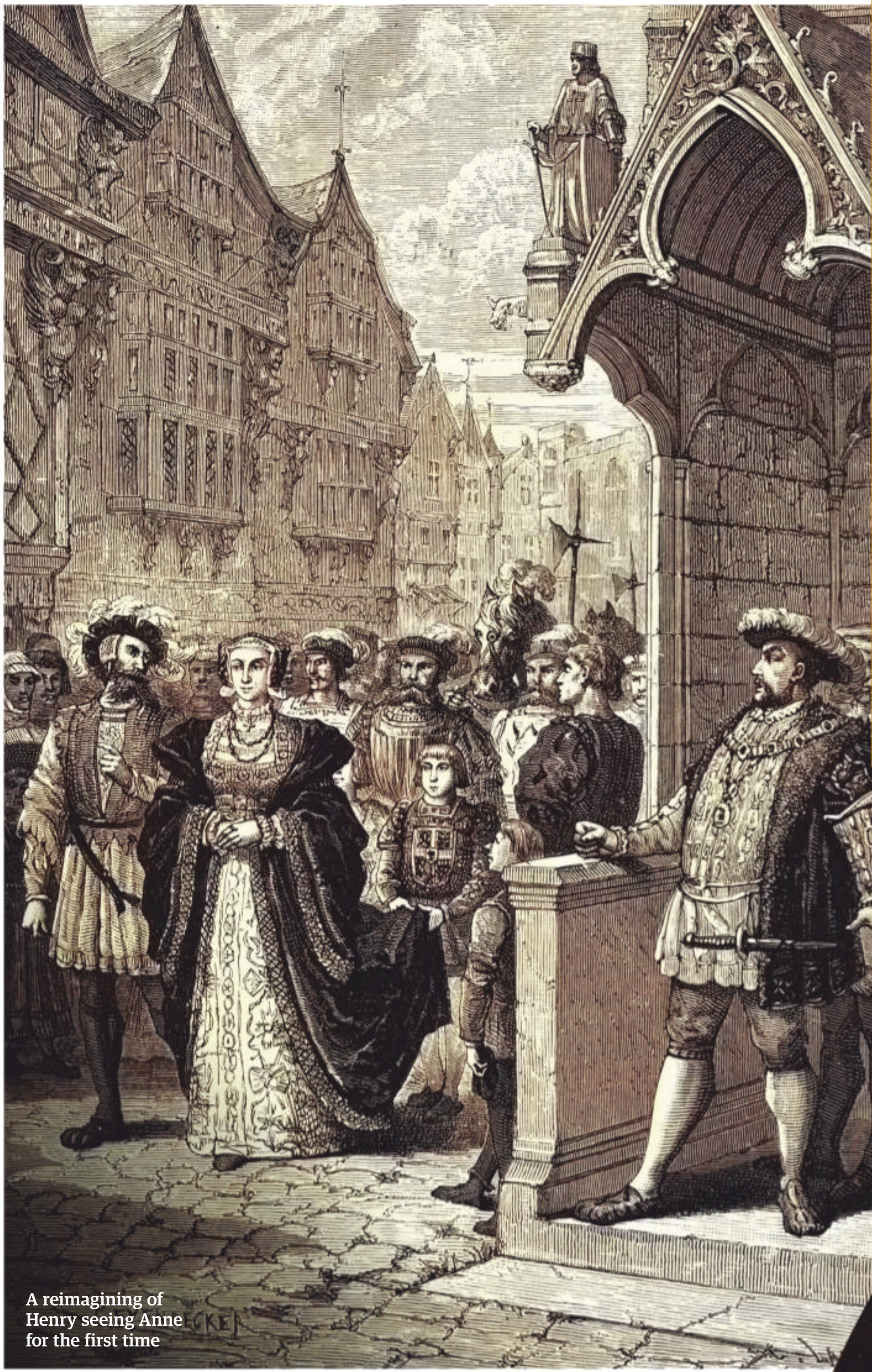
Anne was excited about her betrothal to Henry and thrilled about being the next queen of England. According to Darsie, Anne is said to have boasted to her siblings about outranking them as she "was to be queen of an entire country". She left Cleves at the end of 1539 and was joined on her journey by some of Henry's advisors, who found her to be pleasant company. Her calm and gentle demeanour proved popular and her eagerness to please Henry must have seemed promising. "Anne even asked to be taught a card game that Henry liked so they had something in common and could spend time together," says Norton. All in all, Anne made a positive first impression – but she had not yet met the king. After being delayed at Calais by a storm, Anne and her entourage finally arrived in England at the end of December and on New Year's Day she met her future husband for the first time.

> Henry VIII grumbled to his advisors, complaining that Anne did not look like the portrait he'd received

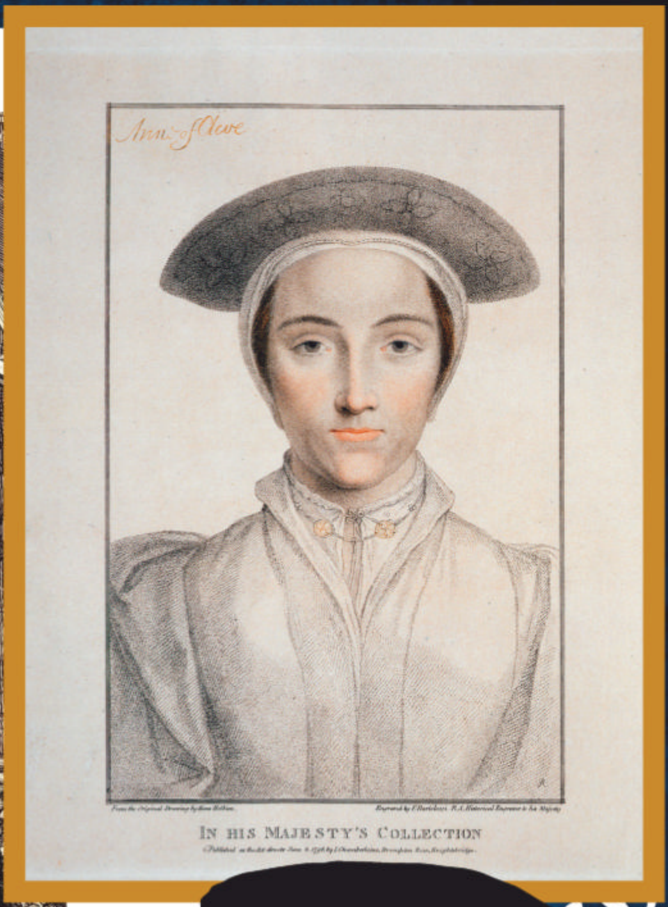
Henry was a man who placed huge emphasis on romantic gestures and chivalric traditions during courtship and marriage, so when meeting his wife-to-be for the first time he relied on a well-practised convention to charm her and confirm their love. He decided to disguise himself and visit her the night before their first meeting, with the expectation that true love would help Anne identify him as her husband. Of course, she was not expecting Henry and though she politely engaged with him she did not recognise him. Henry, clearly disappointed at the snub, left the room, removed his disguise and returned wearing a purple velvet cloak. At that moment, everyone in the room fell to their knees in reverence to the monarch, as did Anne, who must have suddenly realised her mistake.

After the initial disappointment of the failed disguise ploy, Henry and Anne did appear to get on well with each other. "They spent the evening chatting pleasantly together, although it would have been through an interpreter as they didn't share a common language," says Norton. Henry then retired for the night, but returned in the morning to have breakfast with Anne. While from the outside the pair seemed amicable, Cromwell later claimed that just a few days afterwards Henry exclaimed that Anne was "nothing as well as she was spoken of". He then purportedly continued to grumble to his advisors about Anne's appearance, complaining she did not look like the portrait he had received.

But what did Anne think of her intended? The simple answer is that we don't really know. "We don't have any account for Anne and, in many respects, contemporaries wouldn't have thought it mattered," says Norton. It's very possible that she would have been given very little information about her future



A reimagining of Henry seeing Anne for the first time



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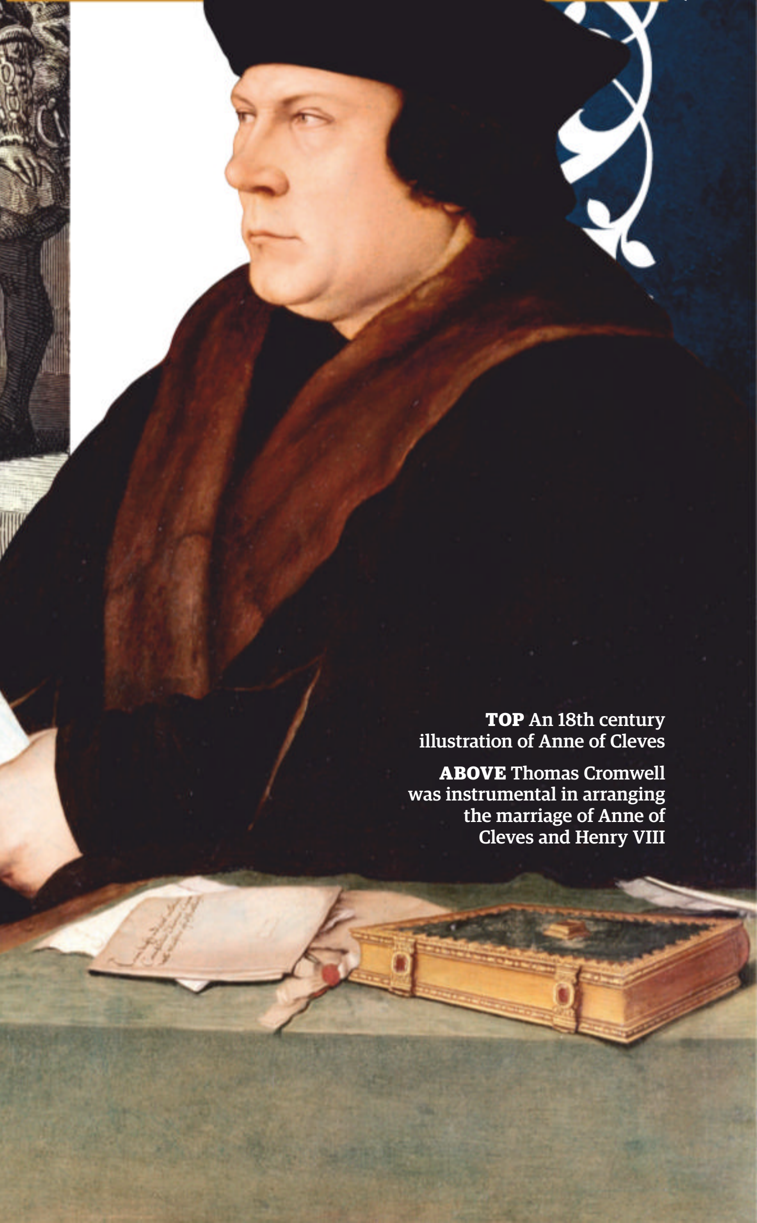
husband, and also possible that she did not know about the beheading of his second wife Anne Boleyn – though she certainly did after she was married.

It's not hard to imagine that Anne wasn't exactly thrilled at the prospect of marrying the aging and increasingly unwell king, who by 1540 was not the attractive, athletic prince of his youth. Henry had become significantly overweight and was troubled by a debilitating leg ulcer that was reported to have given off a putrid smell. He had also become much more agitated and irritable in his later years. But even if Anne was displeased by her first impression of her betrothed, there was absolutely nothing she could have done about it. ▶



TOP An 18th century illustration of Anne of Cleves

ABOVE Thomas Cromwell was instrumental in arranging the marriage of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII

QUEEN OF ENGLAND… BRIEFLY

The marriage went ahead on 6 January 1540 at Greenwich Palace in London, despite Henry having made a desperate attempt to break off the engagement. The wedding was a lavish affair and to outsiders the couple would likely have seemed happy. Anne was now queen of England, although she would need to be crowned in an official ceremony at a later date. But the truth was that, in private, she and Henry were already experiencing some issues. After spending their first night together, Henry told his advisors that the marriage had not been consummated. It's likely that Henry was not attracted to Anne given his earlier comments about her appearance, and it's also possible that he was struggling with impotence (an issue that had been raised at Anne Boleyn's trial in 1536).

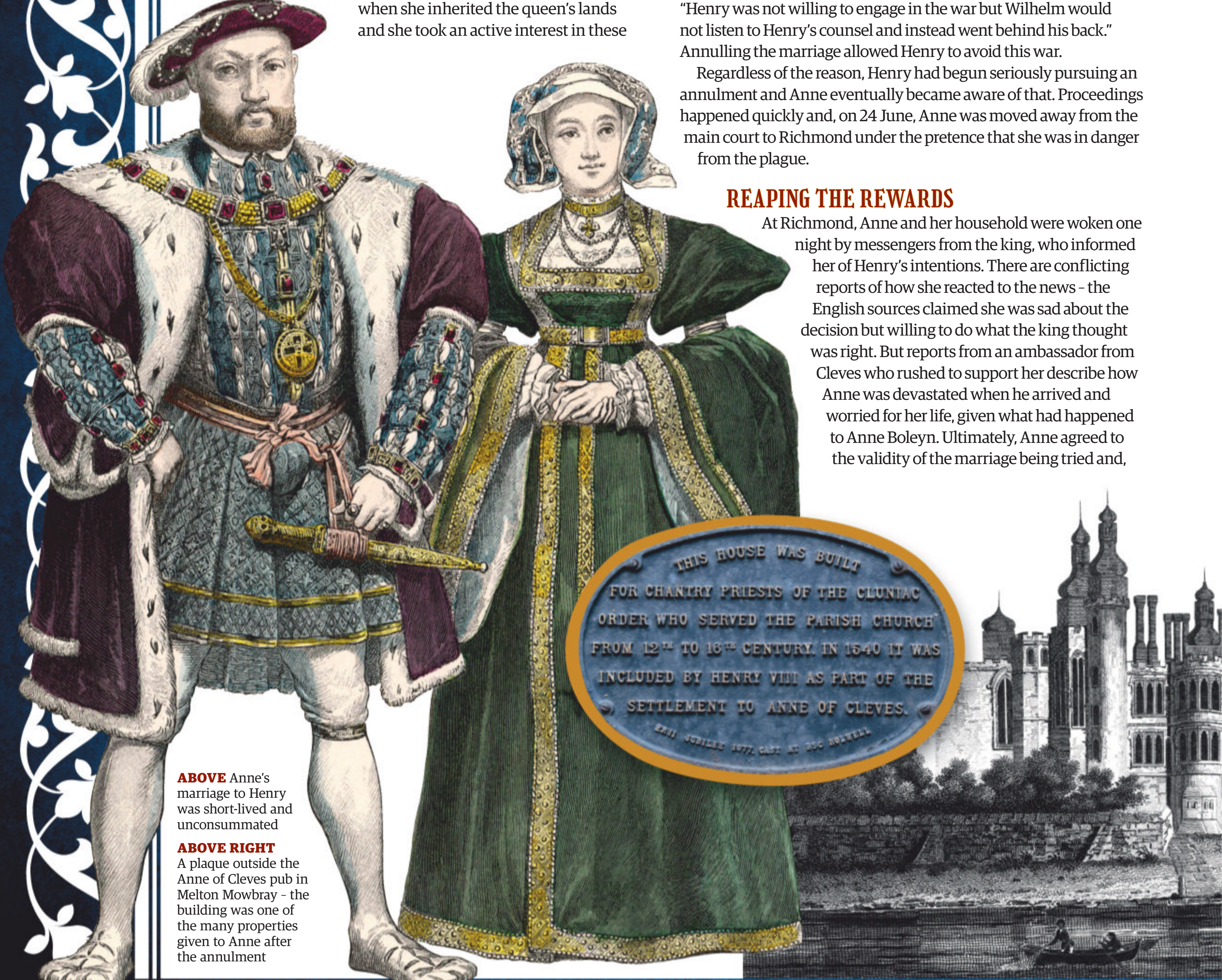
Despite the rift between the couple, Anne began to settle into life at the English court, and despite not speaking English very well she took on a number of responsibilities. As Henry's wife, she had become one of the nation's biggest landowners when she inherited the queen's lands and she took an active interest in these domains. She was also in charge of running her own household and performed the ceremonial duties of the queen at royal events.

During this time Henry and Anne continued to share a bed, though the marriage remained unconsummated. While there are no documents that record what Anne may have been thinking or feeling at this time, we can infer that she knew something was wrong from the fact she urgently tried to get in touch with Cromwell to ask for help. But Henry had had enough and began to look into getting the marriage dissolved, and there are a number of potential reasons for his decision. A lack of romantic connection between the pair was evident, especially as Henry had already turned his amorous attentions towards another woman (Katherine Howard). They had little in common, did not share the same language or culture, and did not have many common interests. But it is also likely that political events outside of the marriage influenced Henry's decision. "The historical record shows that Anne's brother Wilhelm was working towards an international war against the Holy Roman Empire, involving France, Saxony and ideally England," explains Darsie. "Henry was not willing to engage in the war but Wilhelm would not listen to Henry's counsel and instead went behind his back." Annulling the marriage allowed Henry to avoid this war.

Regardless of the reason, Henry had begun seriously pursuing an annulment and Anne eventually became aware of that. Proceedings happened quickly and, on 24 June, Anne was moved away from the main court to Richmond under the pretence that she was in danger from the plague.

REAPING THE REWARDS

At Richmond, Anne and her household were woken one night by messengers from the king, who informed her of Henry's intentions. There are conflicting reports of how she reacted to the news – the English sources claimed she was sad about the decision but willing to do what the king thought was right. But reports from an ambassador from Cleves who rushed to support her describe how Anne was devastated when he arrived and worried for her life, given what had happened to Anne Boleyn. Ultimately, Anne agreed to the validity of the marriage being tried and,



THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT
FOR CHANTRY PRIESTS OF THE CLUNIAC
ORDER WHO SERVED THE PARISH CHURCH
FROM 12TH TO 16TH CENTURY. IN 1540 IT WAS
INCLUDED BY HENRY VIII AS PART OF THE
SETTLEMENT TO ANNE OF CLEVES.
[illegible] JUBILEE 1977. CAST AT [illegible] HOLWELL

ABOVE Anne's marriage to Henry was short-lived and unconsummated

ABOVE RIGHT A plaque outside the Anne of Cleves pub in Melton Mowbray – the building was one of the many properties given to Anne after the annulment conveniently, it was found that she had not been free to marry Henry because of her childhood contract with the Duke of Lorraine. As a result, on 11 July 1540 the marriage was officially annulled. She never got the chance to be crowned queen.

In many ways Anne was much luckier than the women who had come before her. She was not cast aside by Henry, as his first wife had been, and she kept her head. But more than that, Anne was compensated for her compliance and was endowed with an income of around £500 a year and given a number of significant properties, including Richmond Palace and Hever Castle. From that point onwards Anne was referred to as the 'King's Sister', maintaining her royal standing at court, even if it was a less prominent position. She was, for all intents and purposes, a prosperous member of Henry's family. Once again, we know very little about her reaction to the new circumstances she found herself in. On the one hand, her new wealth allowed her to live a largely independent life; she did not have to marry again in order to support herself and she was welcome at Henry's court. On the other hand, Anne could not leave England (Henry would not allow it and political events at home could have been dangerous for her) and she was reliant on the king's continued goodwill towards her. "It is true that, while Henry was alive, Anne had her own money and had numerous homes, but a sense of material security is not the same thing as living a life of benefices," says Darsie.

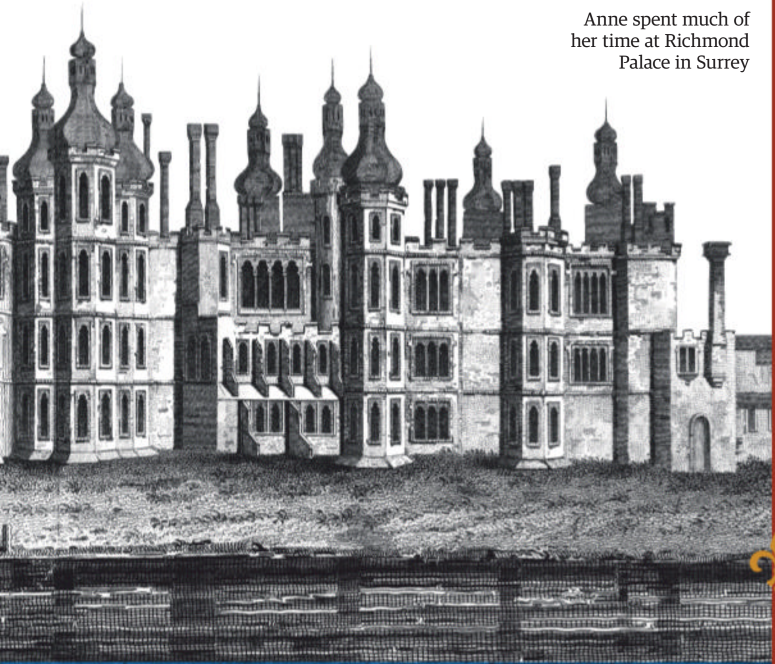
> After the annulment Anne was referred to as the 'King's Sister' and maintained her royal standing at court

THE KING'S BELOVED SISTER

Henry VIII married Katherine Howard just 17 days after the annulment of his marriage to Anne. On the same day, Thomas Cromwell was beheaded, partly for his role as the architect behind Anne's failed marriage. She had been lucky.

"We really only have small glimpses of Anne after the annulment," says Darsie. "She appeared to be living her best life, coming to court here and there, constantly wearing new clothes. [But] it is impossible to know if she was genuinely happy or was simply putting on ▶

Anne spent much of her time at Richmond Palace in Surrey



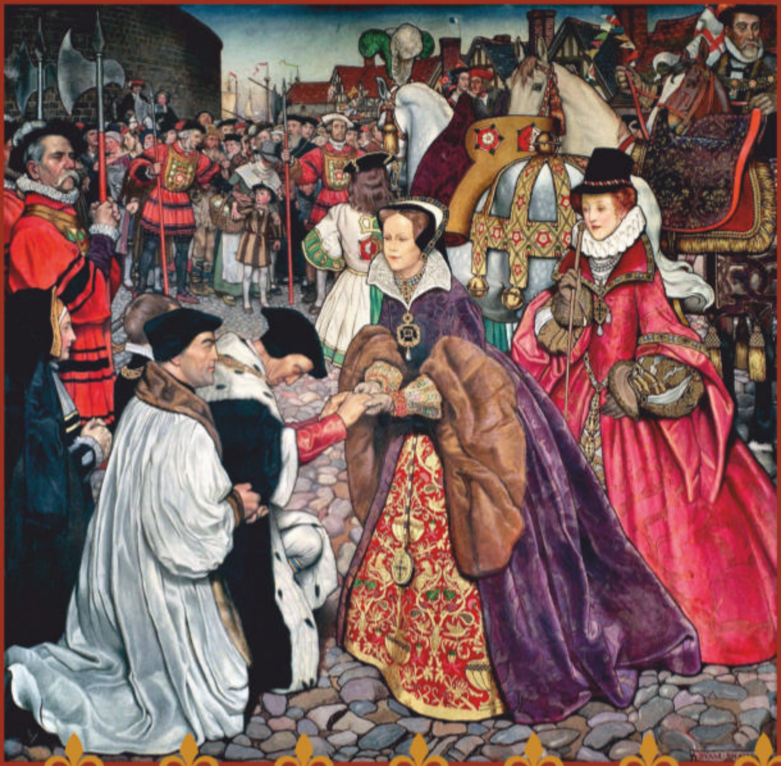
ROYAL RELATIONSHIPS

Did Anne get on well with Henry VIII's children?

During her short marriage, it is unlikely Anne built much of a relationship with any of her three stepchildren. Edward was only a baby when Anne married Henry, and it would have been hard for her to communicate with Mary or Elizabeth as she spoke very little English. However, it is noted by historians that Anne did have a strong relationship with both of her stepdaughters later in her life, and we can presume that these bonds were built after the annulment. As Anne was considered the 'King's Sister', it is not surprising that Mary and Elizabeth would have spent time with her.

Historians have inferred much about the closeness of the relationship between the three women from events after Henry's death. "During Mary I's coronation, Elizabeth and Anne rode together in a chariot just behind Mary's," reveals Darsie. "They wore matching gowns – surely this showed some level of coordination between Anne and Elizabeth, not to mention a visible acknowledgment of their closeness. The two sat together at Mary's coronation banquet and reportedly had a great time."

Anne's final days in 1557 shed further light on her feelings towards her stepdaughters. "At the end of her life, Anne gave Mary [her] best jewel and gave Elizabeth [her] second-best jewel, rather than requesting that all of her jewellery be sent back to Germany for her brother Wilhelm and surviving sister Amalia," says Darsie. Mary arranged for a fitting funeral for Anne and even wrote to Wilhelm personally informing him of his sister's death. It is clear that the women treated each other as family.



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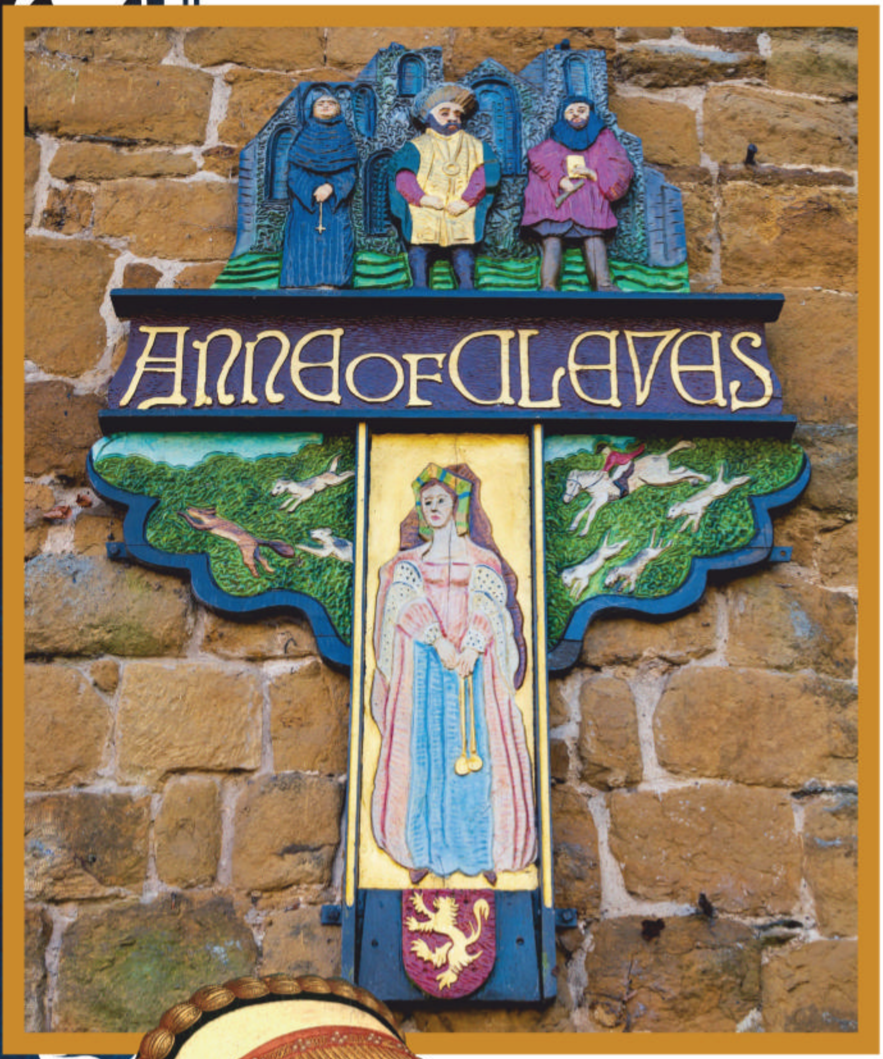
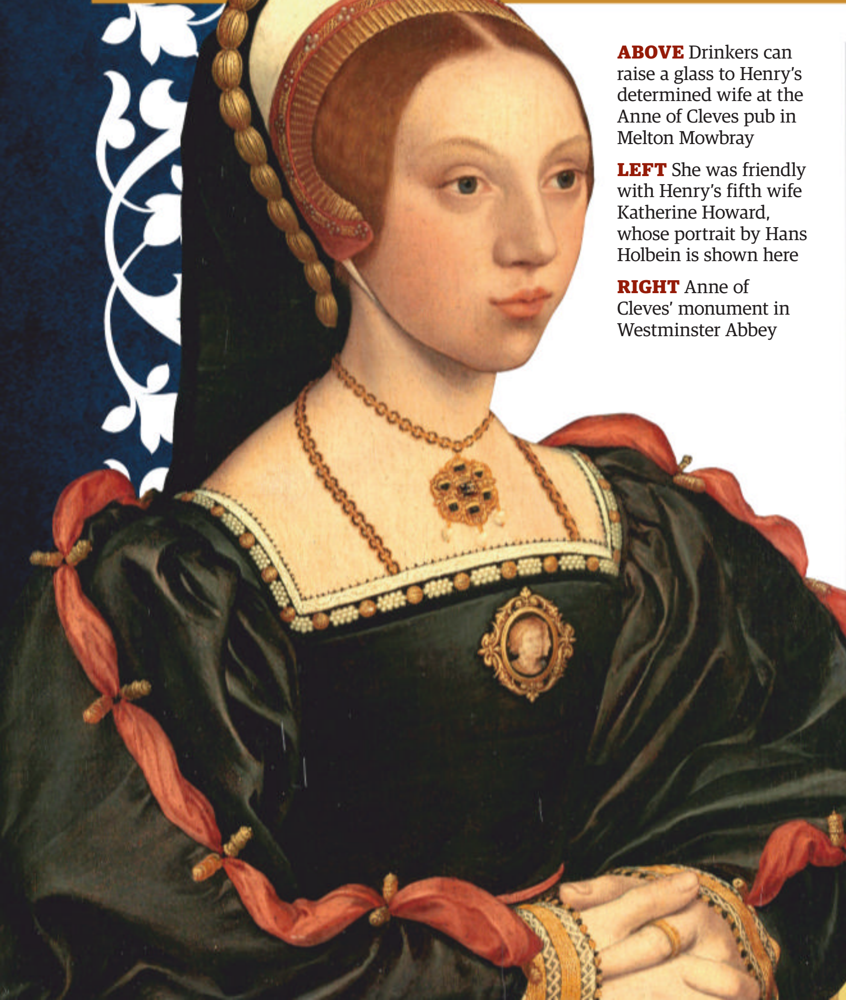


a smile and getting on with things." There is a consensus among historians that despite all the challenges in their marriage, Anne and Henry remained friendly with one another. Henry would visit her at Richmond to dine with her and Norton says "he went and told her personally both times he remarried". Anne also was said to have been friendly with Katherine Howard and danced with her at court.

Though Anne was now a rich woman, rising levels of inflation devalued her wealth. Henry would often top up her money and pay excesses to her servants, a move that highlights how the relationship between the two had developed since their marriage. In many respects, it does seem that Henry viewed Anne as a sister.

Her wealth allowed her to organise her own affairs and much of Anne's money would have been spent on the upkeep of her properties, some of which she rented out. She also managed and paid her own household and had learned how to speak English. "She was very independent, which was unusual during this period," says Norton. "She actually took up cookery. She had a kitchen made up… so that she could try out recipes, so she did have hobbies!" A French ambassador at Henry's court was even quoted saying: "Madame la Cleve has a more joyous countenance than ever. She wears a great variety of dresses, and passes all her time in sports and recreations."

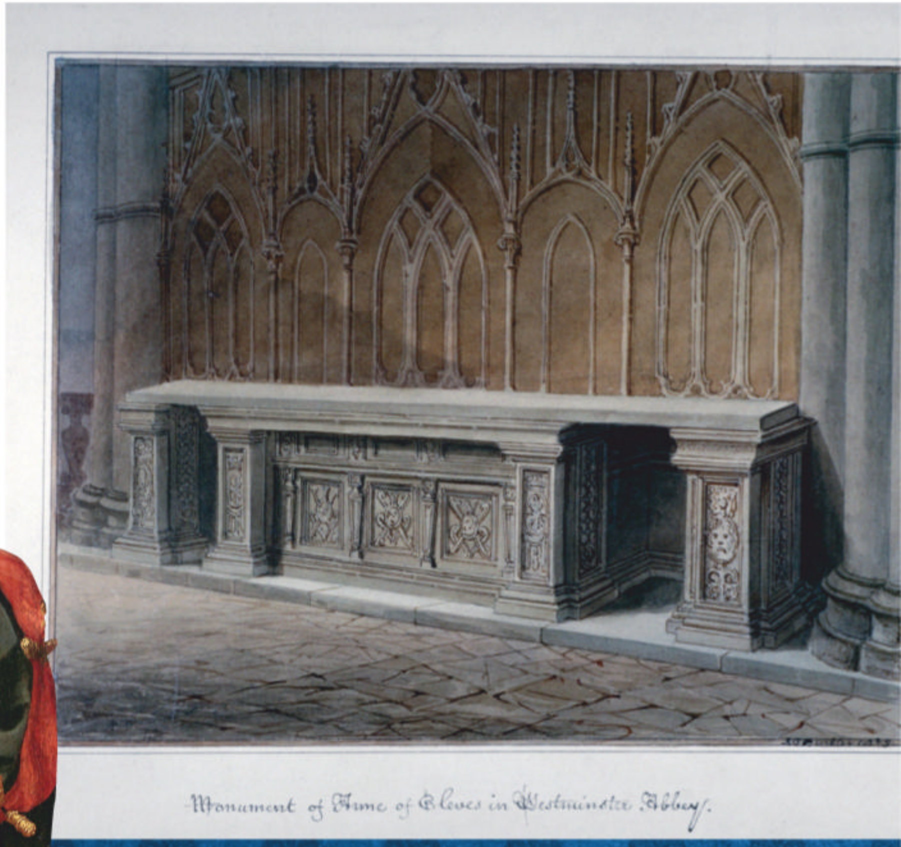
Anne enjoyed independence for the rest of her life, never marrying again despite being free to. "There was no one appropriate in England for her to marry," says Darsie. "There was a very brief discussion of marrying her to Thomas Seymour, but that was before his secret marriage to Catherine Parr was uncovered. Wilhelm did try to find German husbands for Anne and her younger sister Amalia, but there was a dearth of suitors who had the proper social standing, were of an appropriate age, had good reputations and, specific to Anne, were willing to pay to bring her back to Germany." Furthermore, it is possible that Anne hoped that eventually Henry would reinstate their marriage. As a religious woman, she believed in the sanctity of her marriage vows and had reportedly claimed to a Cleves ambassador that she would always be the king's true wife.



ABOVE Drinkers can raise a glass to Henry's determined wife at the Anne of Cleves pub in Melton Mowbray

LEFT She was friendly with Henry's fifth wife Katherine Howard, whose portrait by Hans Holbein is shown here

RIGHT Anne of Cleves' monument in Westminster Abbey


Monument of Anne of Cleves in Westminster Abbey.

THE DEATH OF THE KING

At the end of January 1547, the English royal court became shadowed by a terrible secret. King Henry VIII had died in the early hours of the 28th at the age of 55. With his death, Anne's status and position in England came under threat. As she was not a widow, she was not entitled to anything. She was at the mercy of the new king, nine-year-old Edward VI and his regency council.

Without close ties with anyone in Edward's government, many of Anne's lands were stripped from her or replaced. She continued to be paid her pension, but it was no longer topped up and she could not afford to live the life she had become accustomed to. She did manage to maintain some of her income, however, through the properties that remained in her possession and that she rented out.

When Edward died on 6 July 1553 at the age of just 15, things started to improve for Anne. Henry's daughter Mary I ascended to the throne and Anne, who had developed a close relationship with her stepdaughter, was back in favour. At the coronation, Anne was seated in the second chariot in the procession behind Mary and next to Princess Elizabeth. Mary very much saw Anne as a family member and her wealth increased as a result. Darsie explains that Anne "started petitioning for the position of dowager queen of England, which Mary was not overtly against". However, the relationship between the two was altered when in 1554 Anne was suspected of being involved in Wyatt's Rebellion due to her close connection with Princess Elizabeth, who was arrested after the failed uprising. But once again, Anne managed to escape the monarch's wrath.

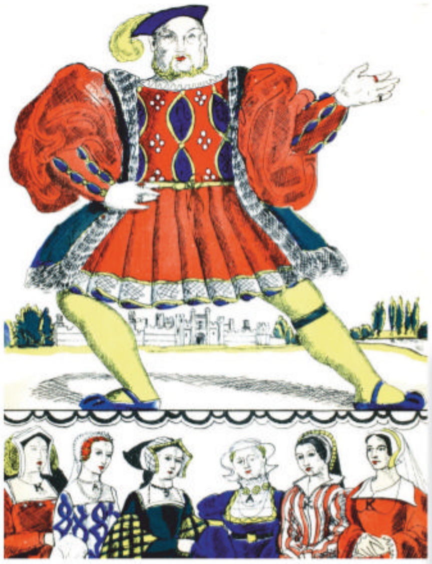
> Anne died in 1557 and was the only one of Henry VIII's wives to be laid to rest at Westminster Abbey

ANNE'S FINAL DAYS

She spent her last years living in relative peace largely away from court life. She had not been in the best of health for a few years and some historians believe she may have been suffering from cancer. In July 1557 she died at the age of 42. Queen Mary made the arrangements for her funeral and honoured her with a Catholic service and burial at Westminster Abbey. Anne was the only one of Henry's wives to be laid to rest there, alongside numerous English monarchs of the past.

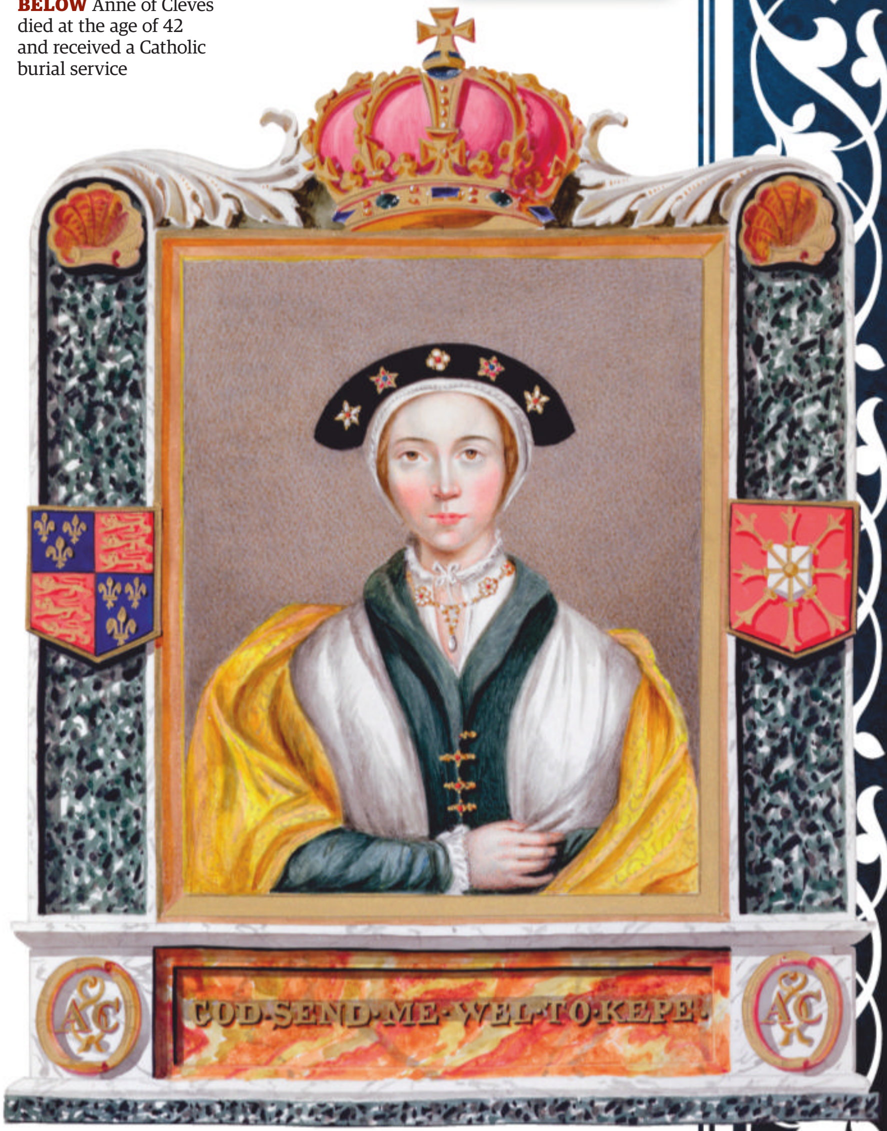
"Summing up her life, I think she was a remarkable woman and more remarkable than often recognised coming from a 21st century perspective," says Norton. "She had an awful set of circumstances. Her grand marriage falls apart and for a woman in the 16th century that's a dreadful thing to happen. It's the worst thing, pretty much, that can happen to you. The fact that she survived and built a life for herself in spite of adverse circumstances is really remarkable and I think it does her a huge credit. She is absolutely a survivor of the six wives."

Upon her death, Anne really was the 'Great Survivor'. She had outlived Katherine Parr by nearly 10 years, and had done so in peace and comfort while maintaining ties to the royal family. Though she may not have had much political agency, she certainly managed to navigate the tempestuous nature of Henry VIII and the wider Tudor court with great success, maintaining her wealth and keeping a head on her shoulders until her dying day. For a woman who came to England unable to speak the language, she made a big impression and carved out a life for herself despite the many challenges she faced. ○



ABOVE Henry VIII had six wives during his reign (1509-47)

BELOW Anne of Cleves died at the age of 42 and received a Catholic burial service



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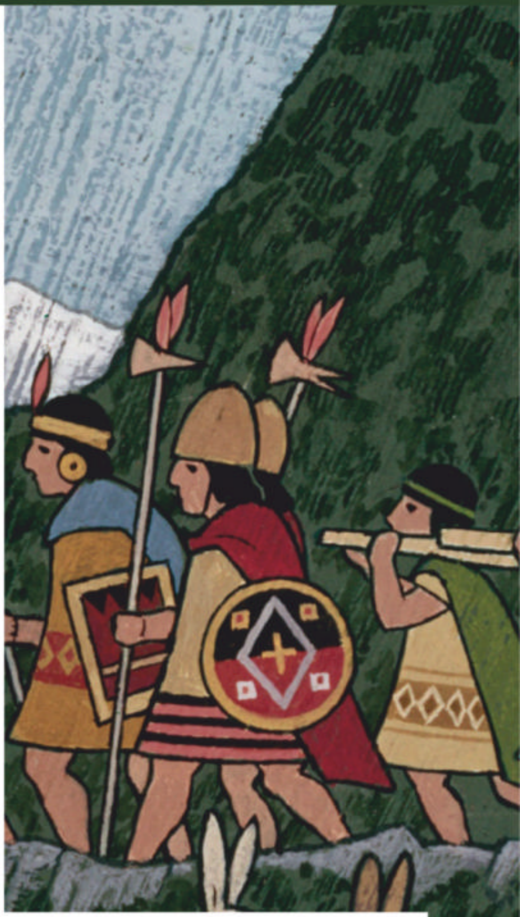
THE INCA ALEXANDER

How Topa Inca Yupanqui built on the conquests of his forebears and expanded his empire

Written by Hareth Al Bustani



In the mid-15th century, at the height of his powers, the mighty emperor Pachacuti returned to Cusco to discover his wife-sister had bore him a new son. Although he had older legitimate sons, he sensed something special in this boy. As he raised him towards the almighty Sun, he proclaimed the boy Topa Inca Yupanqui. It was an auspicious occasion, one the emperor marked by offering vast quantities of gold and silver to the Sun god Inti, the oracles and the sacred stones known as the huacas. In the most extravagant festival the Inca had ever seen, he undertook an epic capac hucha ceremony, where a procession of children toured Cusco before being sacrificed.

Years later, as the elderly emperor felt his vigour fade, he decided it was time to step back from the action and appoint one of his sons to co-rule the empire he had worked so tirelessly to forge. When Pachacuti named his eldest legitimate son, Amaru, heir, although the priests were happy, the generals were not. They felt that Amaru was not up to the task of leading the greatest army beneath the Sun. After much consideration, Pachacuti summoned the nobles and elites, declaring that Amaru did not have "the qualifications to govern so great a lordship as that which I have acquired". Instead the emperor turned to his youngest son, Topa, elevating him to co-ruler.

It was a momentous occasion. Once again, children were sacrificed to the Sun in order that it may shine down upon Topa Inca Yupanqui – son of the Sun and father of his people. As Topa sat upon a golden throne, with a fringe of gold atop his head, he was handed the feathered pike and royal insignia. Afterwards, the priests hoisted him away on their shoulders to the House of the Sun – where he received the order of chivalry as well as his sister Mama Ocllo's hand in marriage.

Eager to prove Topa's martial worth to the military, Pachacuti sent him on a campaign to the province of Chinchasuyu in northern Peru, which was rumoured to hold enormous hordes of treasure. As Topa set off with his brothers and generals, citizens lined the road, plucking their eyelashes and blowing on them for good luck.

Passing through the villages his father had conquered, Topa donned each one's distinct dress and headgear and burned animals in sacrifice. Proving his father's trust well placed, as he marched north through the Andes Topa stormed the hostile province of the Quechua, taking fortress after fortress. Any who dared to resist him were impaled on wooden lances, their heads crushed by spiked clubs or picked off by crafty slingers, and their chiefs taken captive. Topa's merciless war machine tore its way through Cajamarca, pressing as far north as Quito in Ecuador.

Content, Topa finally decided to turn back, but instead of heading straight for Cusco, he travelled down the Ecuadorian coast to the mighty Kingdom of Chimor, seizing control of the Moche River, a vital lifeline. His army laid waste to the Chimor capital, taking its lord captive and replacing him with one of his own choosing, before doing the same to northern Peru's 'Warriors of the Clouds', the Chachapoya. When Topa returned home he was followed by a caravan of plunder and prisoners the likes of which had never been seen before. His father proud and his nobles in awe, Topa enjoyed a particularly memorable Festival of the Sun, book-ended by a hysteric flurry of feasts, sacrifices and dancing.

However, suspecting there was yet more glory and riches to be gained, Pachacuti sent his son out once again – this time with his brothers Tilca and Anqui – to conquer Quito. When Topa's army reached Tumipampa he faced the combined might of Quito and the Cañari – proud people who refused to live beneath the Inca yoke. To the Inca's surprise, the battle went down to the wire, and Topa only won by leaping from his ▶

ABOVE Topa attempted to unify his empire by imposing the Sun Cult on all subjugated people, with his capital and bloodline at its core

RIGHT Every time Topa returned from his conquests he did so with more prisoners and plunder than had ever been seen before

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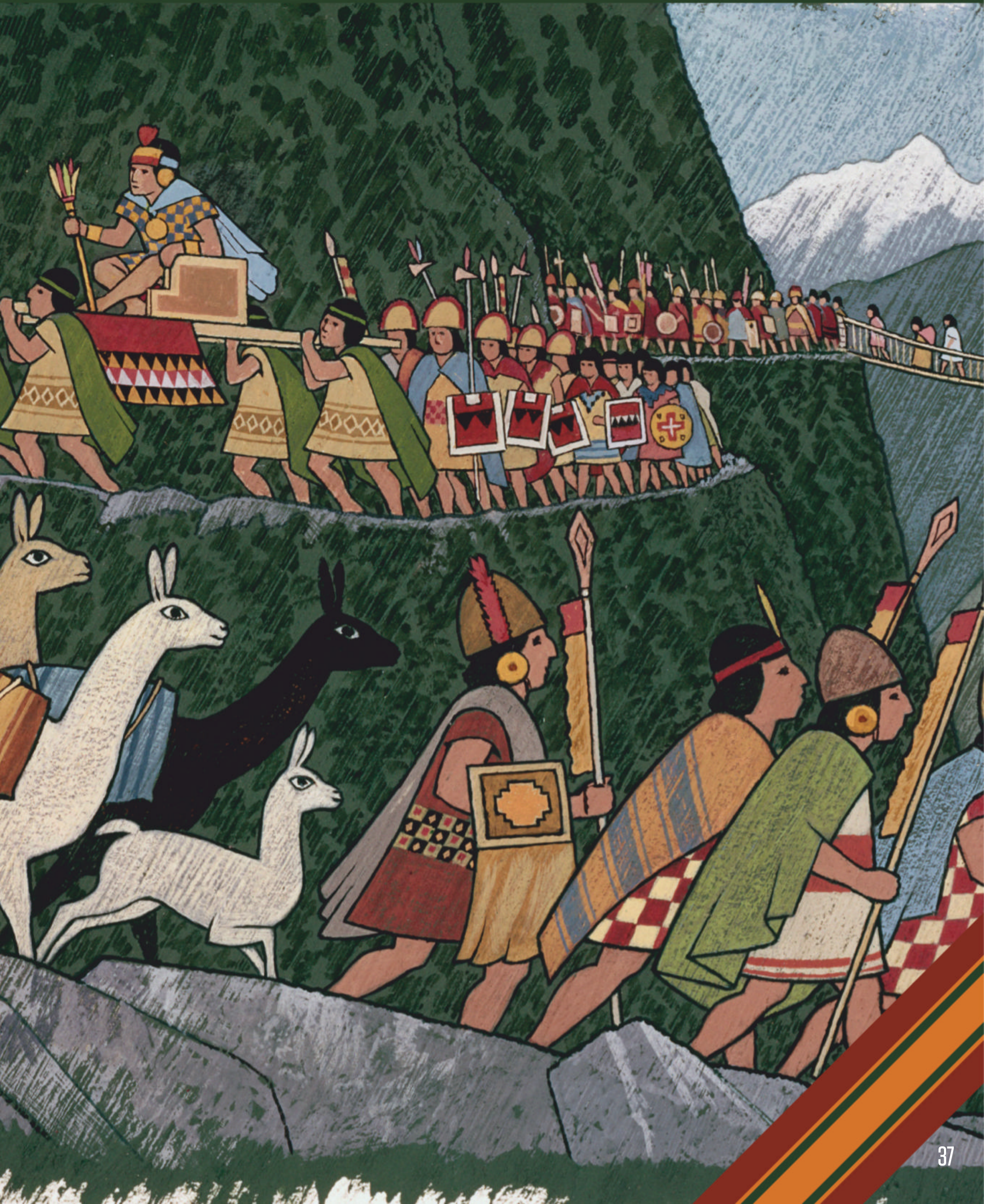
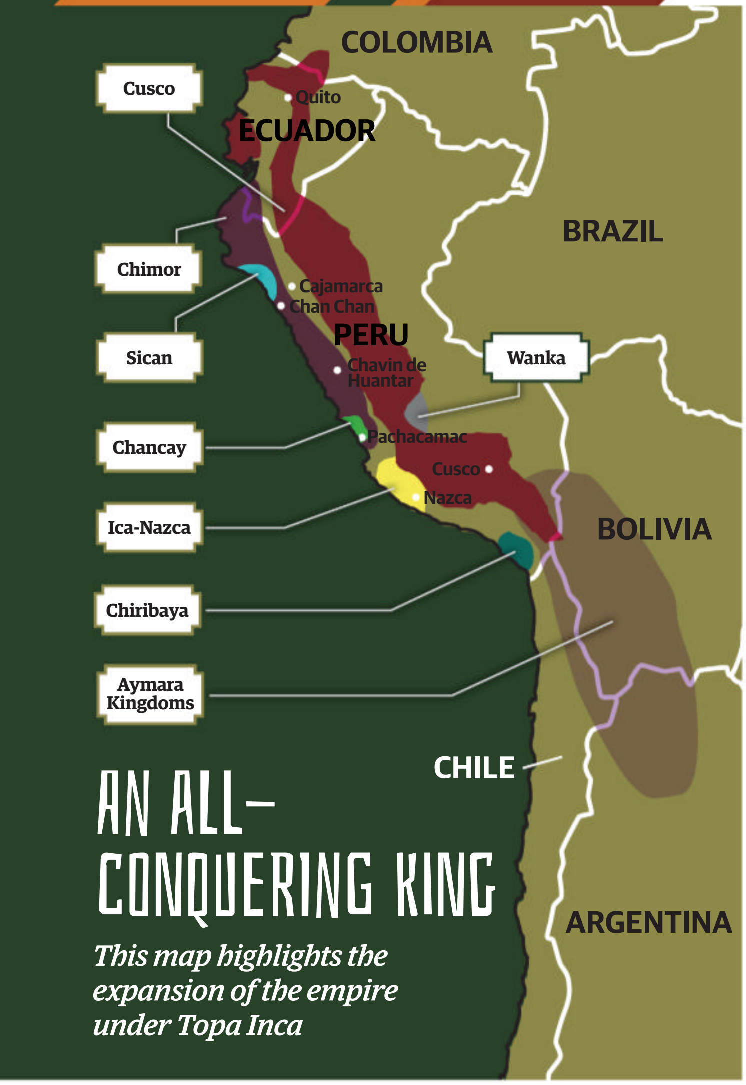




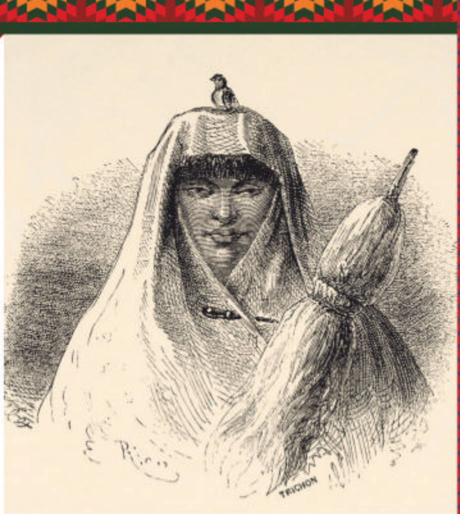
AN ALL-CONQUERING KING

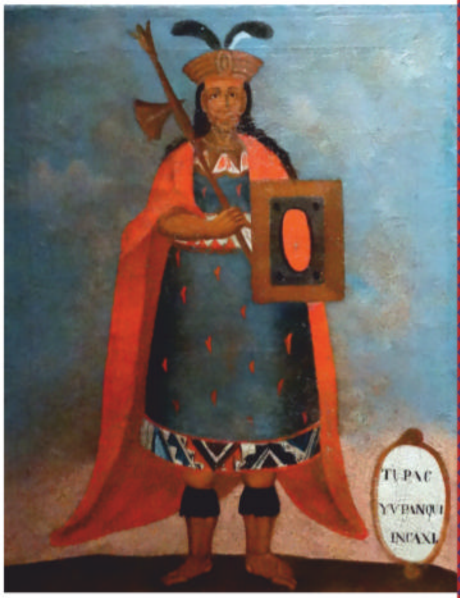
This map highlights the expansion of the empire under Topa Inca

litter and personally leading his reserves into the fray. As the defeated enemy fled, the Inca chased and hacked them down, roaring: "Cusco, Cusco!"

Afterwards, Topa appointed a governor and brought in huge numbers of mitmaq – migrants forcefully relocated for the purpose of work – to rebuild the city of Quito. After a brief respite, the emperor pressed on to Tumipampa, where his sister-wife bore him a son who would later be known as Huayna Cápac. Despite having been away from his capital for years, the insatiable Topa was not ready to return home. Instead, he split his army into three and embarked on a campaign against the Huancavelica on the Ecuadorian coast. He led his men to victory in the mountains, on the shore and even at sea with the aid of local raftsmen.

"HE LED HIS MEN TO VICTORY IN THE MOUNTAINS, ON THE SHORE AND EVEN AT SEA"





TOP As was customary, Topa married his sister, Mama Ocllo, who gave birth to their son and heir, Huayna Cápac

ABOVE All across the empire, Topa replaced hereditary sinchi leaders with ones of his own choosing

When Topa returned to Cusco with even more plunder, foreign people and unusual beasts than last time, he once again received a hero's welcome. Curiously, this time rather than being proud, Pachacuti became bitterly envious of his son's achievements. In a rage he had his son Tilca killed for taking too long to bring Topa home safely. The elderly conqueror himself died soon after in 1471, leaving Topa the empire's sole authority.

Eager to once again make a powerful statement, Topa cast his attention to the jungles of Anti – a land steeped in coca plantations that had recently risen up in rebellion. Once again he split his army in three and led them deep into the jungle. However, the Inca, accustomed to cool and dry weather, found the heat and humidity intolerable. Wandering aimlessly through the thicket, Topa found his way by sending men up trees to look for smoke, building roads as they went along. Despite the challenging terrain they conquered four formidable tribes.

Amid the chaos, one of the Callao people in Topa's ranks fled to the Callao highlands and spread rumours that the emperor had died. Audaciously renaming

THE PACIFIC EXPEDITION

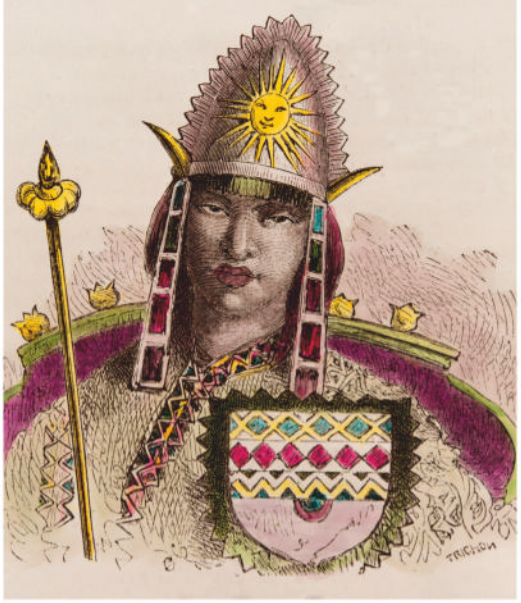
Always on the hunt for glory and plunder, Topa Inca spent so long raiding the Pacific he was presumed dead

As he stormed his way down the Ecuadorian coast of Manta to the island of La Puná, Topa ran into some maritime merchants. They told him of two islands called Avachumbi and Ninchumbi – 'Outer Belt' and 'Fire Belt' – overflowing with people and riches – most likely two of the Galápagos Islands.

Excited but unconvinced by their gossip, Topa asked his diviner – a man thought to be capable of flight – to confirm if it was true, or if the tale was simply typical maritime merchant 'talk'. After hearing confirmation of the story, the emperor had his men build a fleet of balsa rafts and departed with an army of 20,000.

He was gone so long – nine months – that many believed he had died. The chronicler Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa claims that Topa's brother Apu, who was in charge of the army left behind, became so worried that he began to celebrate in order to make the men think Topa would be back soon. When Topa did finally return he did so with some magnificent trophies – a brass chair and the skin and jawbone of a horse. However, his brother's earlier charade was misinterpreted as a celebration of the emperor's demise and he was put to death.

Whenever there was treasure to be taken, Topa was an unstoppable force



LEFT Topa's remarkable military accomplishments earned him the nickname the 'Inca Alexander'

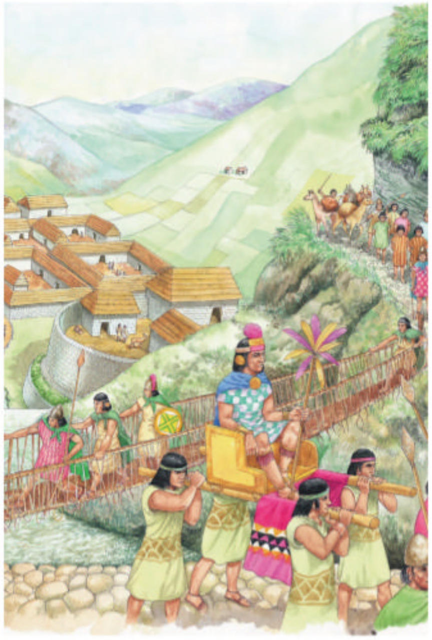
himself Pachacuti, the man convinced the rebellious-minded people to rise up in revolt, with him as their leader. His blood hot with fury and conquest, Topa rushed to Callao, leaving behind a general to finish conquering the jungle. Smashing his way through four great settlements, he quickly decimated the Callao, capturing their leaders, skinning them and turning their hides into drums. Topa's wrath carried him as far south as Chile, where he captured two chiefs before setting up frontier columns at the Maule River – marking the southern boundaries of his empire.

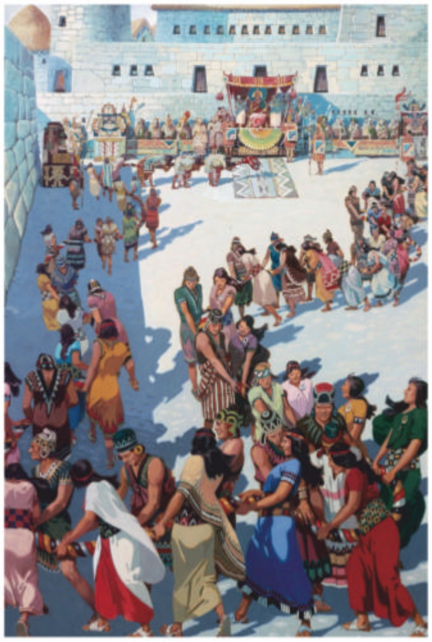
The campaign marked the pinnacle of Inca conquest, and as the army returned home Topa generously rewarded them for their service. After years of war, Topa oversaw a general visitation of all the land from the Ecuadorian Quito boundary in the north to Chile in the south, registering the whole population and imposing fixed tribute upon all. Ruling over an enormous empire spanning many tribes and cultures, he was determined to instil authority and uniformity across his realm. Along the way people were dragged from caves, hills and riverbanks to settle villages, build fortresses and till the land. Members of each ayllu, or community, spent three months a year working their own land and the rest of the year harvesting land owned by the gods and the emperor himself.

Eager to establish a more unified realm, Topa imposed the Sun cult upon all those beneath his yoke. They had to accept that Cusco was not only the heart of the empire but the universe itself – and the emperor was a direct descendant of the almighty Sun God. He also replaced their hereditary sinchi lords with a new type of ruler, the kuraka, each responsible for increasingly large groups of taxpayers, rising from 100 to 10,000. Although children of kuraka would inherit their class, which entitled them to women, servants and estates, they did not inherit positions; that was for the emperor alone to decide.

When it came to hard power, the emperor built fortresses along the borders of his recent conquests. Chief of all was the stronghold of Sacsayhuamán, built on the plateau north of Cusco. His father had always described Cusco as a lion without a head. The tail was where the two rivers united to flow through it and the body was the great square. Now, in Sacsayhuamán, it had its head. A masterpiece of engineering, the fortress was built in a matter of years, utilising an enormous workforce and remarkable organisation. Inside, it was filled with worked stone buildings, with plenty of store houses to hold emergency provisions in times of war.

Shortly after overseeing the construction of the imperial gardens in Chinchero, the emperor fell ill. His downturn was so sudden some suspected foul play. Although he initially named the son of one of his minor wives, Cápac Huari, as his successor, he later changed his mind, nominating Huayna Cápac, the son borne by his sister-wife. After Topa died in 1493, as Cápac Huari's mother and allies complained that he was the rightful successor, Huayna's uncle acted quickly, banishing Cápac while butchering his allies and mother. Subsequent military excursions largely consisted of visiting annexed zones to consolidate power or put down distant revolts. None would ever again achieve the heights of Topa, the Inca 'Alexander the Great'. ○

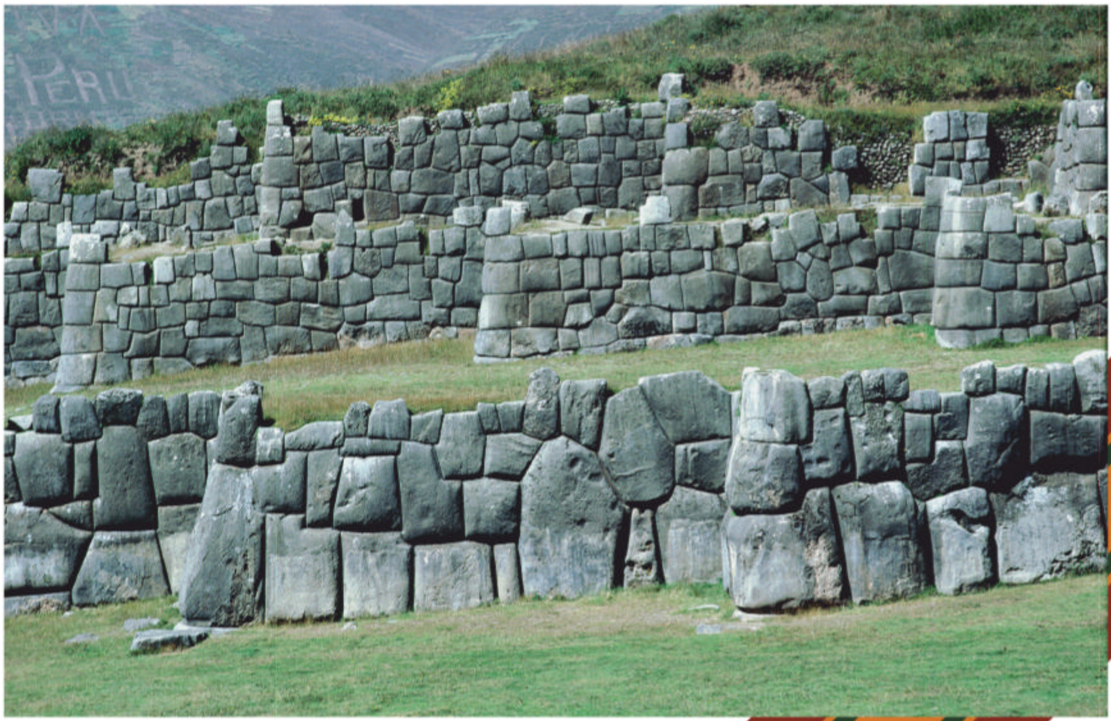




RIGHT After surveying his entire empire, Topa imposed heavy taxation and tribute on his new subjects

FAR RIGHT When Topa returned in triumph from his Quito expedition he received a hero's welcome

BELOW The mighty stone fortress of Sacsayhuamán, north of Cusco, was built without mortar in just a few years



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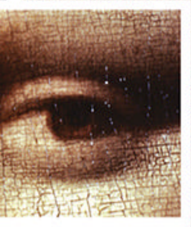
HIDDEN SECRETS IN GREAT ART

Discover what's lurking in the details of these 12 masterpieces

Written by Ben Gazur

Making art is one of the defining characteristics of humanity and as far back as we can look we find people creating patterns and images. But decoding what that art means is often not a simple task because it can have many layers and contain secrets obvious only to the creator.

Sometimes the artist deliberately hides something in their work that will only be noticed after prolonged study or which is apparent only to those that know where to look. The reasons why secrets were placed in artworks vary from symbolism, to jokes, to revenge, to accidents. Studies show most people spend around 30 seconds looking at a piece of art in a gallery – but a second glance might reveal a detail we never expected. Here are some great works of art with hidden depths.



Sutton Hoo Buckle

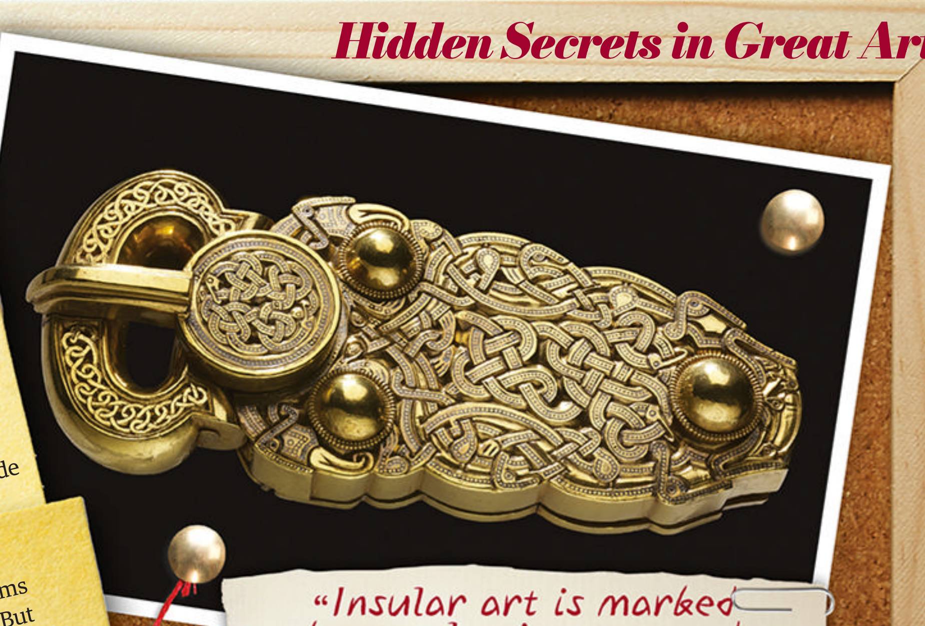
Animals hidden in design

7TH CENTURY

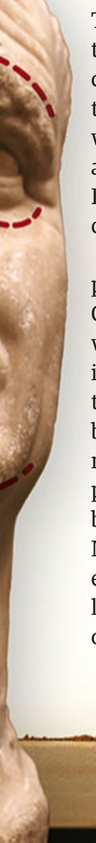
Unknown maker

The Sutton Hoo ship burial contained some of the most startling and important finds from the Anglo-Saxon period. Many of them were decorated with the Insular style of art which characterised British artworks of the time. Insular art is marked by complex imagery and intricately interwoven designs with animal motifs hidden in the pattern. The Great Belt Buckle found at Sutton Hoo is made of 400g of solid gold and is covered in twisting forms that at first appear to be nothing more than lines. But hidden on the buckle are a number of snakes writhing around each other, while at the tip of the buckle a four-legged animal can be seen crouching. A pair of birds poke their beaks around the side.

There might once have been a secret lurking within the buckle itself – the body of the buckle is hollow and the back can be opened to gain access. Similar buckles from Europe once held religious relics, but when this one was discovered it was empty.



> "Insular art is marked by complex imagery and intricately interwoven designs with animal motifs"



Bust of Vespasian

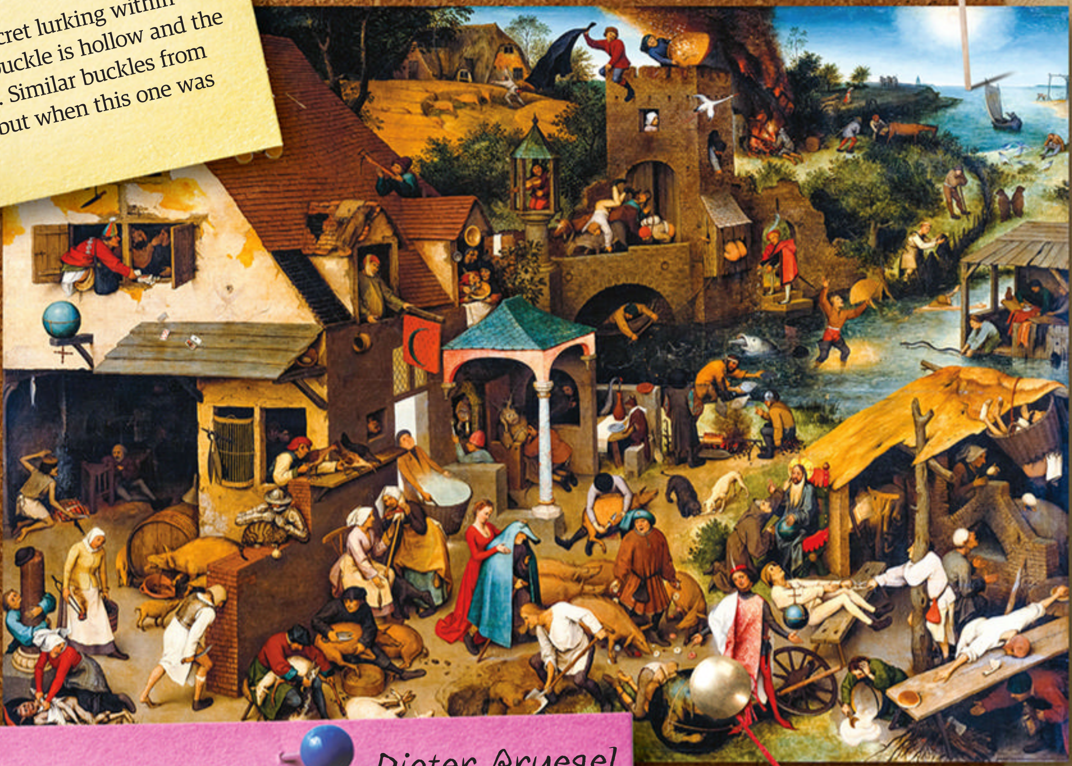
Reusing unfashionable statues

1ST CENTURY CE

Unknown maker

The debate over what to do with statues that represent figures from the past with controversial histories is not a new one. In the Roman Empire busts of the emperors were made to spread the image of the ruler and displayed to show loyalty to the regime. But what happened when the emperor was deposed and a new dynasty took power?

Having a bust of Nero became politically problematic after he killed himself in 68 CE and Vespasian took the throne in a civil war. Marble sculptures were not cheap and it would have been wasteful to simply throw them away. This led to several busts of Nero being reworked to resemble Vespasian – but not always successfully. Nero had rather prominent ears so a number of surviving busts of Vespasian that began as tributes to Nero still have rather unusual ears. Careful examination of the statues can reveal the locations where marble was removed as the original bust was reworked.



The Blue Cloak

A collection of proverbs

1559

Pieter Bruegel the Elder

Pieter Bruegel the Elder is known for scenes of peasant life, which he painted many times throughout his career. A quick look at *The Blue Cloak* suggests this painting is simply another picture of peasants going about their day, but closer study reveals people doing very strange things. There are people pinching each other's noses, someone is kissing a door knocker, and another is biting a pillar. What's going on?

This painting is also known as *Netherlandish Proverbs* and is a literal representation of over 100 common sayings of the time. Some are well known today, such as a person banging their head against a brick wall, while others are more mysterious. In one example, a man defecates on a gallows – which comes from a saying meaning a person will not be deterred by a punishment. In another a person grasps a slippery eel by the tail, which was how doomed endeavours were described. As further research is done the list of proverbs that Bruegel managed to fit into his artwork is being expanded. ▶

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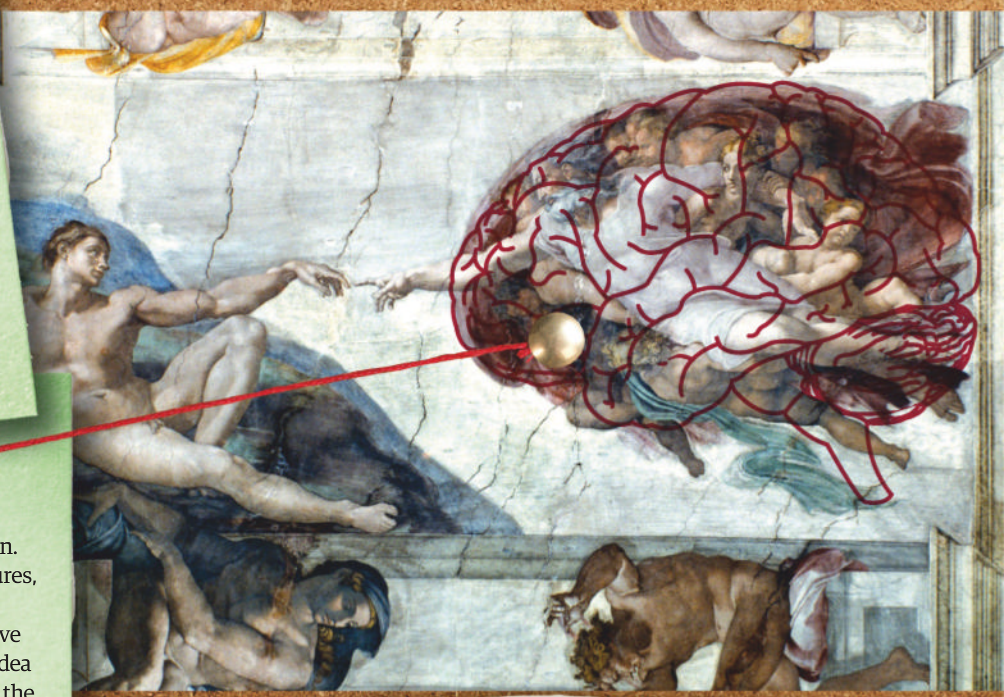
The Creation of Adam

God's cloak or a brain?

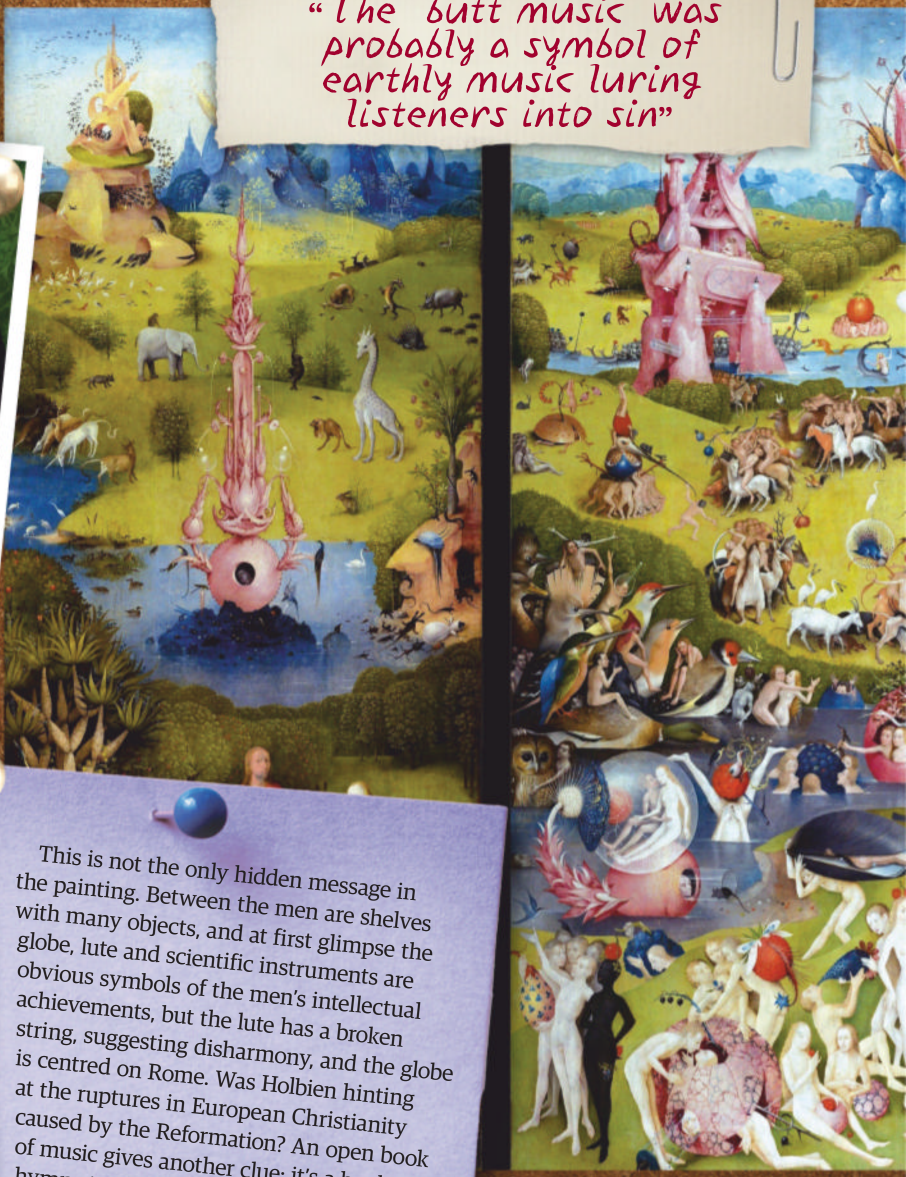
Michelangelo

1512

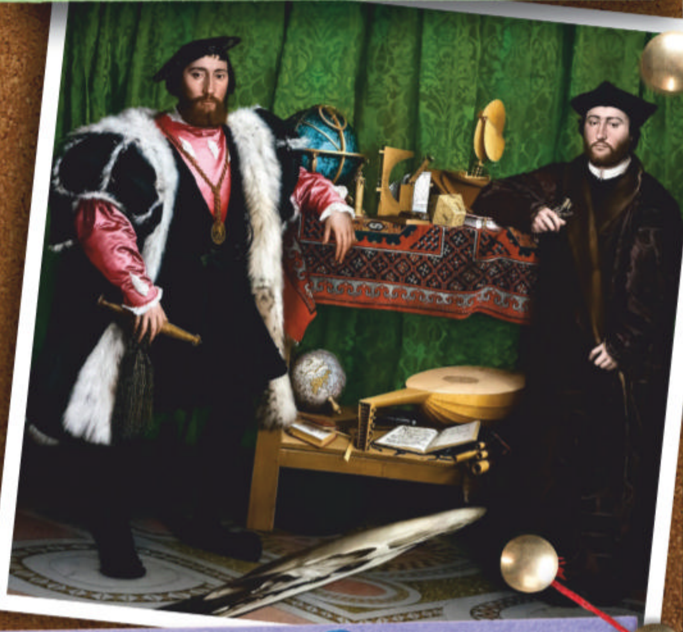
When Michelangelo was hired to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome he was best known as a sculptor, but the final result cemented his reputation as one of the greatest painters of his day. One panel of the ceiling depicts the moment in which God creates the first man, Adam, and the two reach their fingers towards each other. God is supported by other figures and all are surrounded by a billowing red cloth, creating an unusual silhouette.



In 1990 a doctor noticed the similarities between the shape of the fabric and a cross-section of the human brain. By tracing the outlines formed by God and the other figures, different areas of the brain can be seen, while a trailing scarf forms the spinal cord. Michelangelo is known to have studied anatomy at public dissections so he had a good idea of what the human brain looked like. The comparison of the composition of God with the human brain has led some to suggest that Michelangelo was intimating that God not only gave humans their bodies but also endowed them with a spark of the divine intelligence.



"The 'butt music' was probably a symbol of earthly music luring listeners into sin"



The Ambassadors

Shelves and skulls

Hans Holbein the Younger

1533

In Holbein's painting depicting the French ambassador Jean de Dinteville and Bishop Georges de Selve, one detail immediately draws the eye. Across the floor in front of the figures is a strange white and black smear which does not appear to fit in with the rest of the composition. To solve the mystery of this shape a viewer has to stand off to the right and examine the painting obliquely – at which point it becomes obvious that the object is a human skull visible only from a very specific angle.

This is not the only hidden message in the painting. Between the men are shelves with many objects, and at first glimpse the globe, lute and scientific instruments are obvious symbols of the men's intellectual achievements, but the lute has a broken string, suggesting disharmony, and the globe is centred on Rome. Was Holbein hinting at the ruptures in European Christianity caused by the Reformation? An open book of music gives another clue: it's a book of hymns translated by Martin Luther, one of the instigators of the Reformation.

The Last Supper

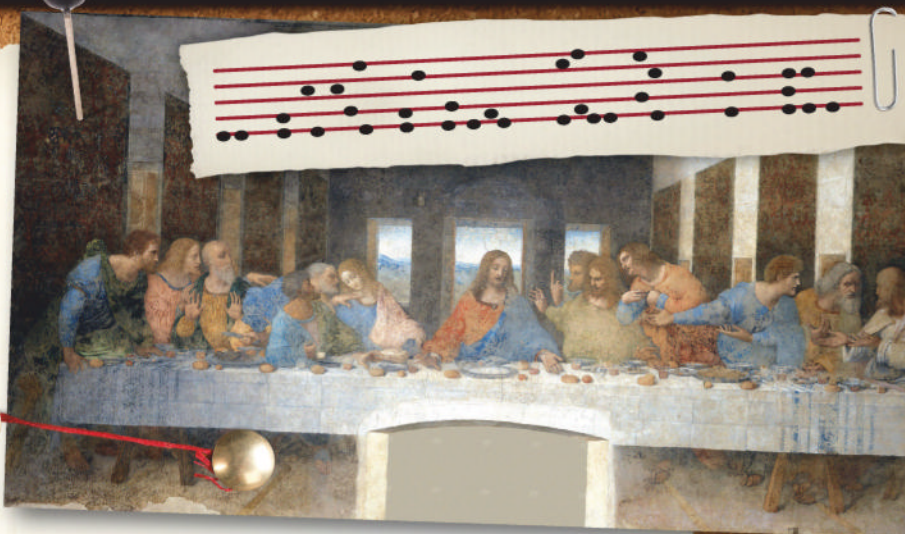
Music hidden in bread

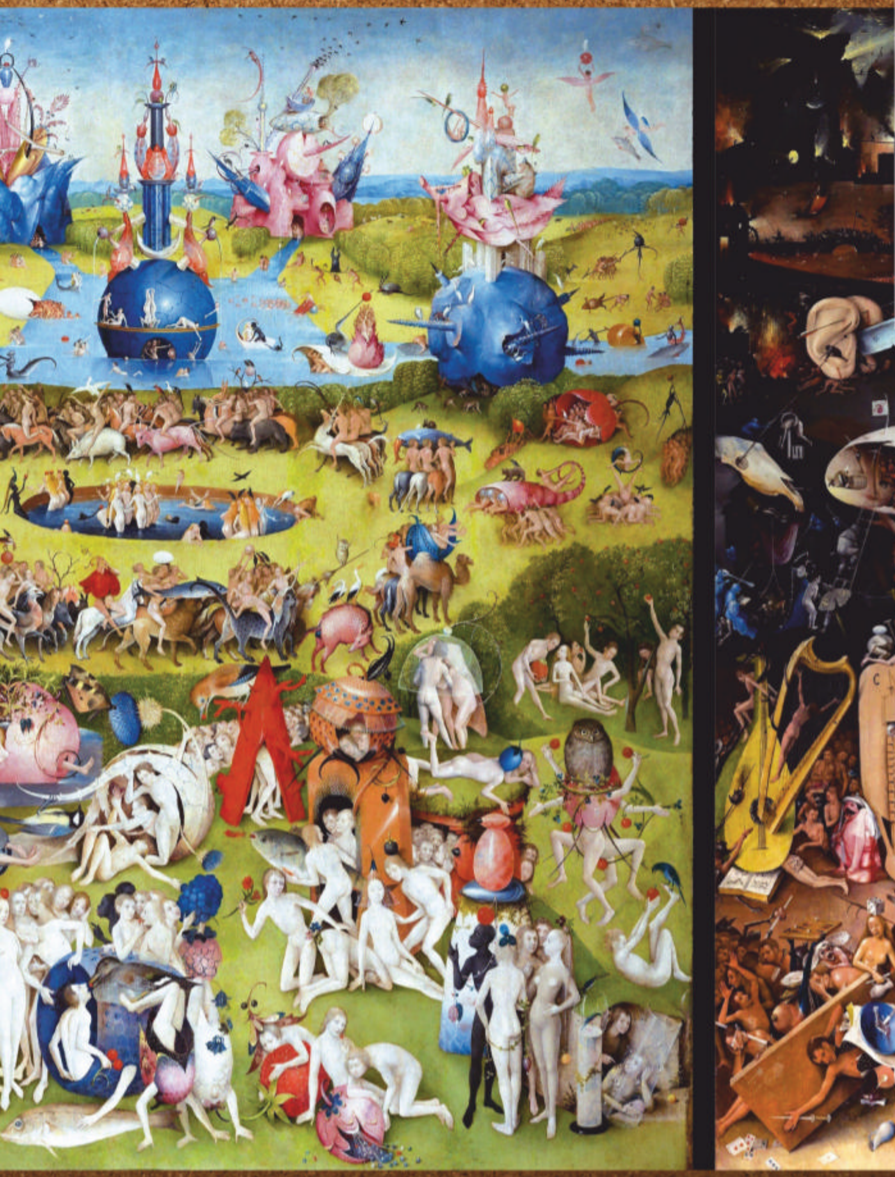
C.1495-98

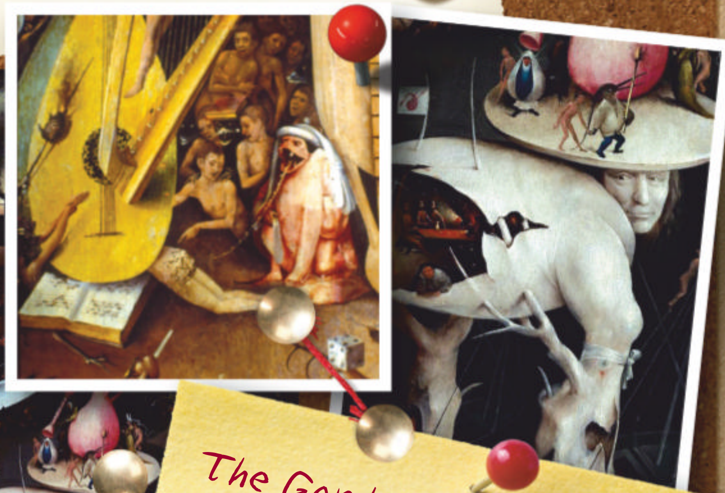
Leonardo da Vinci

Leonardo da Vinci's mural of The Last Supper shows the strengths and weaknesses of his fertile mind. The composition has been praised, and emulated, for centuries but within years of its completion the image began to degrade as a number of Leonardo's experimental painting techniques failed. The painting rewards a close look as the figures and gestures of Jesus and his disciples all express their individual personality. Some researchers, though, have used details in the painting to support fringe theories, such as that Jesus married Mary Magdalene or that the artwork contains numerological secrets.

In 2007 it was noted that the position of the disciples' hands and the bread on the table could be superimposed on the five lines of a musical scale. Converting each position to a musical note and playing them from right-to-left, the direction in which Da Vinci often wrote, produces a short and solemn piece of music. Da Vinci was known for his studies in many disciplines, including music, and it is possible he included a hidden harmony in his painting.







The Garden of Earthly Delights

Musical score on sinner's posterior

C.1490 – 1510

Hieronymus Bosch

Hieronymus Bosch is known for the fantastical and sometimes bizarre imagery in his paintings, and perhaps his strangest work is in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. In a panel of the triptych representing Hell there are scenes of rabbits carrying damned souls, defecating devils, and sinners being devoured by hallucinogenic demons. One portion of this infernal panorama depicts sinners strung up on musical instruments as they are being tortured. A soul is shown being crushed under a lute with just their legs and buttocks poking out. On their bare rear a page of musical notation has been tattooed and a demon is reading it with his monstrous tongue. In 2014 this music was played, perhaps for the first time in 600 years. The 'butt music', as it became known, was probably meant to be a symbol of the ability of earthly music to lure listeners into sin.

Some art historians have suggested the strange-looking figure in the middle of the painting, shown with a cracked body and peering at the viewer, might be a self-portrait of Bosch himself. ▶

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Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window

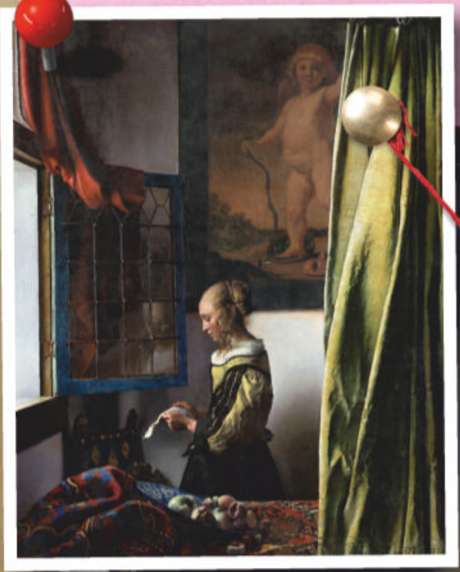
A lost painting-in-a-painting

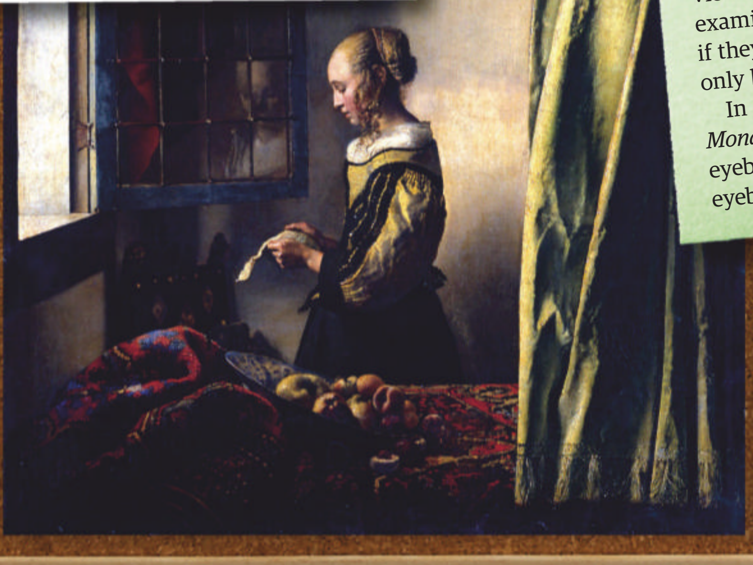
C.1657-59

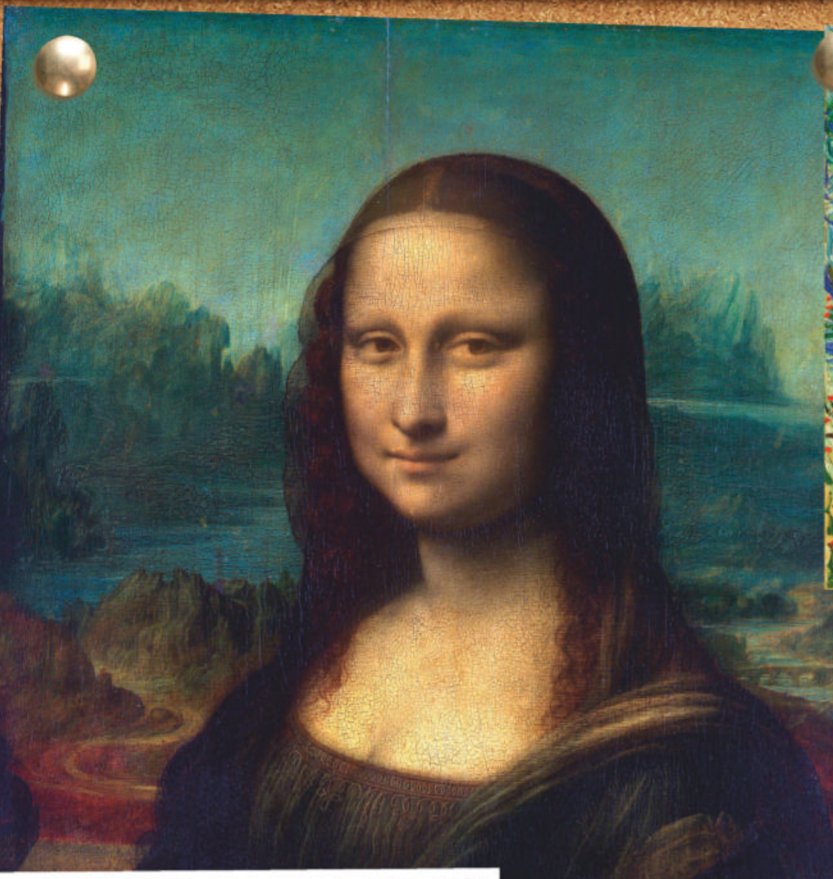
Johannes Vermeer

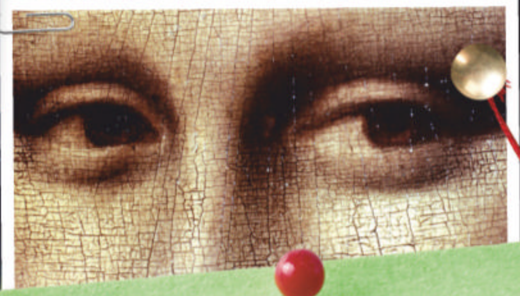
Vermeer is renowned for his paintings of domestic middle-class scenes. Many of them are instantly identifiable but in 2021 one of his most famous works underwent a radical transformation. *Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window* shows a woman in profile standing beside a window and looking down at a letter. There is little to distract the eye as the lady is in shown in front of a plain white wall – or at least she was. When the work underwent scientific analysis 1979 it was discovered that at some point a large painting of Cupid once adorned the wall in the picture. At the time it was thought Vermeer himself had painted over the Cupid but later work showed it was a later whitewashing of the painting.

In 2021, after three years of restoration, the painting was unveiled, with the Cupid restored for the first time in hundreds of years.









Mona Lisa

Eyebrows and a signature

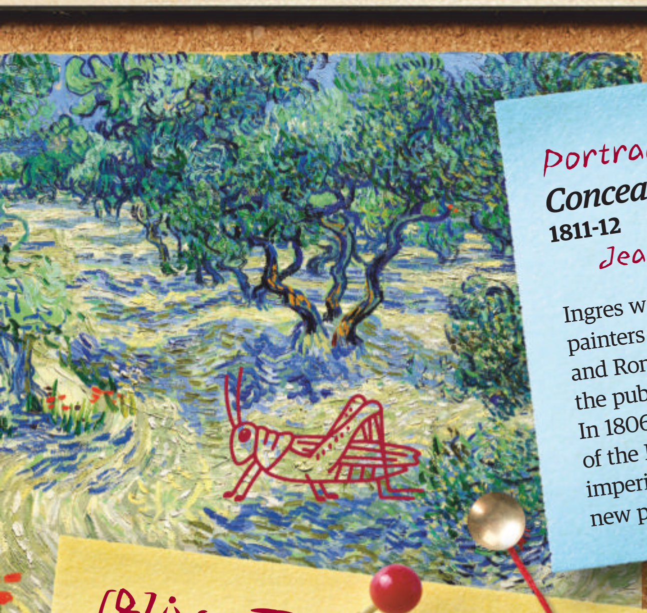
C.1503-19

Leonardo da Vinci

Each year around 10 million people visit the Louvre in Paris to see the *Mona Lisa*, making it one of the most viewed artworks in the world. But few get the chance to examine it closely due to the press of crowds, and even if they could, some of the details in the painting can only be seen with scientific equipment.

In *The Lives of the Artists*, Giorgio Vasari describes the *Mona Lisa* in detail – including the accurately depicted eyebrows. Famously, however, the *Mona Lisa* has no eyebrows, or at least none visible to the naked eye. But in 2007 ultra-high resolution scans revealed that there had once been eyebrows, which had faded over time.

The enigmatic eyes may be hiding more secrets, too. Using detailed scans one researcher claims to have discovered the letters 'LV' painted with a fine brush in the right eye to signify Leonardo da Vinci. The left eye is said to contain either the letter 'B' or 'S', which may give a clue as to the true identity of 'Lisa'. Other researchers have disputed these claims, but nonetheless the painting remains an object of fascination and conjecture.



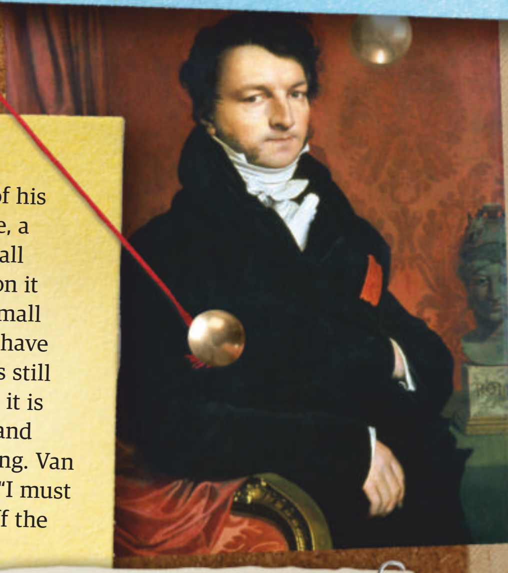
Portrait of Monsieur de Norvins

Concealing Napoleonic leanings

1811-12

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres

Ingres was one of the best-known French painters of the 19th century, his Neoclassical and Romantic works winning favour with both the public and influential members of society. In 1806 he painted a triumphant portrait of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte on his imperial throne, holding the regalia of his new position. However, Napoleon's patronage would not always be useful to Ingres and his clients. In the portrait entitled *Monsieur de Norvins*, Ingres depicts the newly chosen head of police in Napoleonic Rome. De Norvins is shown with his hand tucked into his jacket just as Napoleon was often portrayed – the portrait was clearly meant to demonstrate Ingres' loyalty to Napoleon. There is, however, an unusually placed drape of fabric in the painting and you can see the ghostly image of an infant only partially concealed by the painting of the cloth. This is likely a bust of Napoleon's son, who had been made the king of Rome. When Napoleon fell in 1814 this symbol of support for the ex-emperor became embarrassing and Ingres quickly hid the bust behind a curtain.



Olive Trees

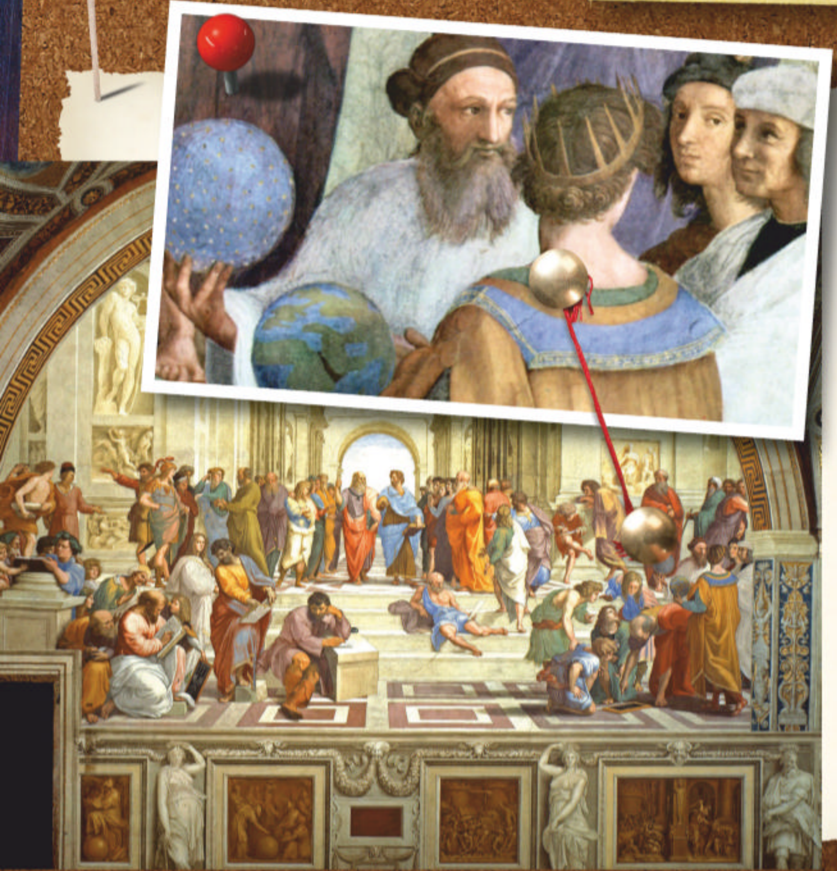
An unfortunate grasshopper

1889

Vincent van Gogh

The bold colours and extravagant style of Vincent van Gogh's paintings have made him one of the most popular and influential artists in the world. He suffered from mental illness to such an extent that he was placed under the care of doctors, and his brother asked them to allow him to continue to paint outdoors as it soothed Van Gogh's mind.

In 2017 direct evidence that Van Gogh did indeed paint outside was found crushed into the surface of one of his works. While examining one of his paintings of olive trees with a microscope, a curator noticed what appeared to be a small leaf stuck in the paint. On closer inspection it proved to be the head, leg and body of a small grasshopper. The unfortunate insect must have become entombed in the paint while it was still wet. Because it had not disturbed the paint it is thought the grasshopper was dead already and had been blown by the wind into the painting. Van Gogh had earlier written to his brother that "I must have picked a few hundred flies and more off the four canvases" while working outside.



> "Hidden among the figures are playful portraits Renaissance artists"

The School of Athens

Portraits and philosophy

Raphael

1509

Pope Julius II hired the artist Raphael to paint a fresco in one of the rooms of his private suite. The Renaissance was a period of renewed interest in the classical world and it was decided that a painting of the various great thinkers of the ancient world would reflect the pope's intellect. The painting is rich in philosophical allegory: the figure of Plato gestures upwards, reflecting his concern with the realm of ideas, while Aristotle gestures downwards, showing his interest in the natural world.

Hidden among the figures are playful portraits of some of the greatest artists of the Renaissance. The elderly and bearded Plato is thought to be based on Leonardo da Vinci, while the brooding Heraclitus was made to resemble Michelangelo. Only one of the learned people in the fresco looks outwards at the viewer, and this has been identified as a self-portrait by Raphael. It was not unknown for an artist to include an image of themselves in their work but it would have been daring to do so in something that was in the pope's private chambers. ○

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DEVILS IN THE DARK

CRIME IN BLACKOUT LONDON

Written by Callum McKelvie

EXPERT BIO

© Yale

AMY HELEN BELL

Amy is a historian at Huron University, Canada, and the author of several books on the Second World War. Her book *Under Cover of Darkness: Murders in Blackout London* is out now from Yale University Press priced £22.

UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS
MURDERS IN BLACKOUT LONDON
AMY HELEN BELL

As WWII Britain plunged itself into darkness, it wasn't just the German bombs civilians had to fear

In early September 1939, as Hitler's armies advanced across Europe, the British government began preparations for war. One of its concerns surrounded the threat of aerial attacks by the Luftwaffe - Nazi Germany's air force. Technology had developed a great deal since the Zeppelin airship raids of the First World War and the Luftwaffe had already demonstrated its deadly capabilities during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).

As part of Britain's air defence, measures were taken on the ground to limit the effectiveness of German air raids. One of these was the blackout, the strict policy of extinguishing all light during the night hours to make it harder for German pilots to identify their targets. But what the government did not anticipate was the number of criminals who quickly took advantage of the newly darkened streets.

Historian Amy Helen Bell has meticulously researched this period, attempting to shine a light on the many horrific murders and crimes in her book *Under Cover of Darkness: Murders in Blackout London*. "My first doctoral work was on the London Blitz, exploring how civilians experienced it as the first total-war against an unseen enemy," she tells us. "In researching this I came across a particular case in which a man murdered his wife and attempted to make it appear as if she had been the victim of a German bomb. I knew there had to be many more similar cases." ▶

"ALONGSIDE THE THIEVES AND BLACK MARKETEERS THERE WERE OTHER, FAR MORE SINISTER CRIMINALS AT WORK IN WARTIME LONDON: SERIAL KILLERS"

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THE BLACKOUT BEGINS

The blackout was announced on 1 September 1939 – the same day that Nazi troops marched into Poland. Two days later, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain solemnly declared that Britain was now at war. On 16 October the first of many German air raids occurred. The purpose of these raids was twofold: they aimed to destroy strategic targets that were vital to Britain's war effort, while also damaging the morale of the British civilian population.

While the Royal Air Force (RAF) took to the skies to fight the invaders and anti-aircraft guns targeted enemy planes from the ground, blackout measures plunged Britain's cities into darkness. The RAF conducted a series of tests that concluded that even its own pilots struggled to identify landmarks when London was shrouded in darkness. As a result, street lamps were left unlit, homes used thick blackout curtains and car headlights were covered with tape so only a thin sliver of light lit the way.

"The blackout comes before any bombing raids actually occurred, it's announced even before war is officially declared," Bell explains. "The first impact of the blackout on civilian life in London is a huge increase in road accidents [1,130 in September 1939 alone compared to 544 the previous year, according to the Imperial War Museum]. Then, of course, there is a huge increase in property crime and, in the following years, in black market crime."

CRIME WAVE

Criminals began to take advantage of the wartime measure almost as soon as the blackout began. An article in *The Scotsman* newspaper, dated 2 October 1939, detailed how the first month of darkness had seen an unprecedented increase in crime in Edinburgh. *The Scotsman* stated the city had been "hit by a black-out crime 'wave' which caused considerable perturbance", before declaring that shops were targeted by "smash-and-grab raiders" who looted items such as "bicycles, tinned foods, jewellery, clothing and other sundry articles".

These criminals would often use ingenious methods to avoid being caught. "Thieves would disguise themselves by putting on air raid warden uniforms," says Bell. "If they were discovered they would pretend that they were clearing out bomb debris, but in reality they were looting shops."

The strictly enforced rationing of essential items such as sugar, meat, cheese and butter, which began in January 1940, soon led to a flourishing trade on the black market. The selling of once freely available items, which were now scarce, could be highly lucrative. According to *The Guardian*, gangster Billy Hill was able to sell sausage skins for £500 a barrel, roughly £3,000 in today's money.

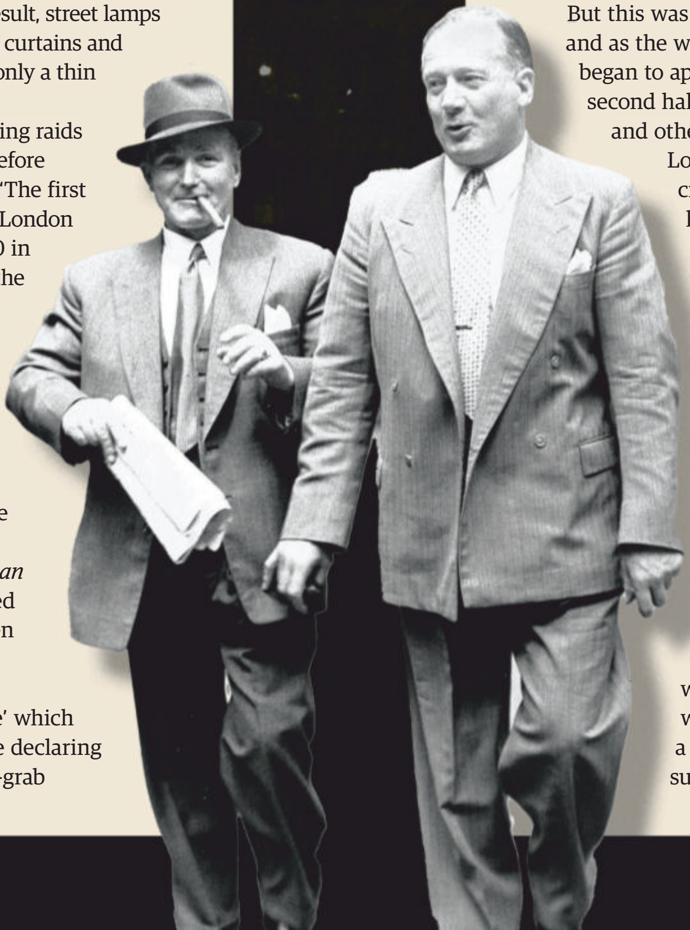
But this was not all that the police had to deal with and as the war waged on – new forms of crime began to appear, particularly in London. "In the second half of the war, especially when American and other foreign servicemen are on leave in London, there is a huge increase in violent crime," Bell explains. "These soldiers also have guns and suddenly more firearms begin to appear on the black market. The result is an almost exponential increase in violence.

"One of the cases that really struck me was the case of Phillip Berry. He was a British Nigerian sailor who had already been jailed for assaulting his partner. He witnesses a racist Dutch sailor abusing an African American soldier and intervenes. Berry pulls a gun on the sailor, and when the sailor insults him too he shoots him dead. Originally, the court stated that the Dutch sailor's racist language was not legal provocation. Later, however, this was changed and Berry's [death] sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. It's a fascinating example of wartime anxieties surrounding race."

ABOVE Throughout WWII London was subjected to blackout restrictions each night

ABOVE RIGHT The capital was targeted by the Luftwaffe 71 times during the conflict

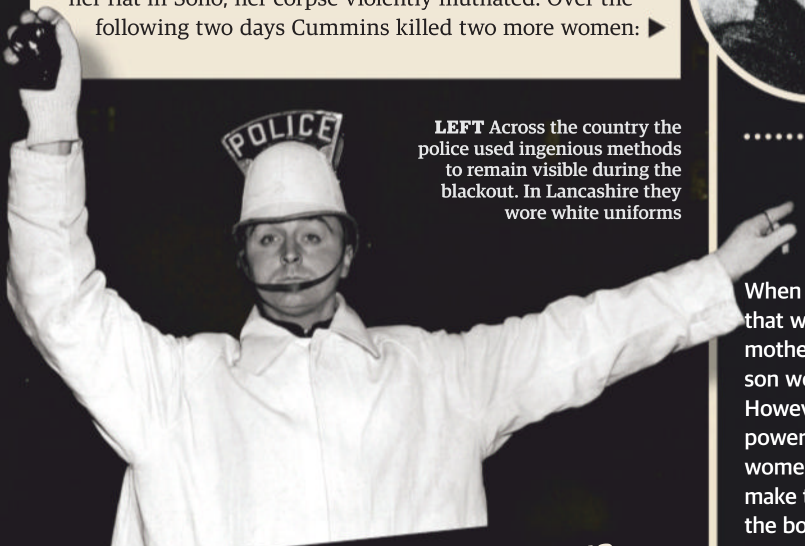
BELOW Robert Fabian (right) with hangman Albert Pierrepoint. Fabian was a famous inspector whose career began during the war



THE BLACKOUT RIPPER

Alongside the thieves, black marketeers and trigger-happy troops, there were other far more sinister criminals at work in wartime London: serial killers. "Gordon Cummins is the name that people associate most with wartime crime," says Bell. "He's an interesting case. He's in his late 20s, is in the RAF, has a good relationship with his wife and a good relationship with his parents. He's never been in serious trouble before. But suddenly, over the course of six days, he targets and kills numerous women."

Known as the 'Blackout Ripper', Cummins' first victim was discovered on the morning of 9 February 1942 when the body of 41-year-old Evelyn Hamilton was found in an air raid shelter. One day later, Evelyn Oatley was discovered in her flat in Soho, her corpse violently mutilated. Over the following two days Cummins killed two more women: ▶



LEFT Across the country the police used ingenious methods to remain visible during the blackout. In Lancashire they wore white uniforms

> "THE METROPOLITAN FORCE'S STAFFING LEVELS WOULD REMAIN LOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR AND DID NOT RETURN TO THEIR NORMAL LEVELS UNTIL THE LATE 1940S"

CONFLICT KILLERS

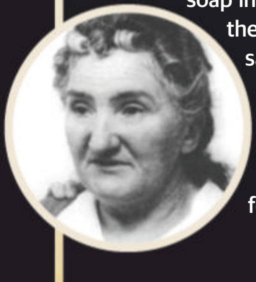
During the Second World War a number of mass-murderers were active across the globe

BRUNO LÜDKE
Germany

Although most of Lüdke's murders were committed prior to the war, he continued to kill during the Nazis' reign of terror and is suspected to have slaughtered between 50 and 80 people. After his arrest he was subjected to gruesome medical experiments and died in 1944 at the age of 35. However, Lüdke was mentally disabled and some have questioned whether he was actually responsible for the murders, or whether he may have been coerced by the authorities into confessing to crimes that he did not commit.

LEONARDA CIANCIULLI
Italy

When Cianciulli heard the news that war had broken out, like many mothers she was terrified that her son would be called up to fight. However, Cianciulli believed in the power of witchcraft. She killed three women and used their blood to make tea cakes, then melted down the body of her final victim to make soap in the belief that these grisly human sacrifices would save her son. She only confessed to her crimes when suspicion fell on him.



DR MARCEL PETIOT
France

By the time the Second World War began, it's suspected that Dr Petiot had already committed a number of murders. In Paris, he began offering help to Jews looking to flee the city, then injected them with poison and stole their money and valuables. Following his arrest in 1944, 30 bodies were discovered hidden in his home, and during his trial he confessed to some 60 murders. Even then, it was suspected he was responsible for even more.

EDDIE LEONSKI
Australia

Known as the Brownout Strangler, Leonski was an American soldier based in Melbourne, Australia, from 1942. During the war the city did not engage in full blackouts but instead dropped the voltage, leading to 'dim-outs' that were also referred to as 'brownouts'. During May 1942, Leonski strangled three women before he was caught. His trial occurred under American military law and he was sentenced to death, his execution taking place on 9 November 1942.

PAUL OGORZOW
Germany

Ogorzow was a serial killer and rapist nicknamed the S-Bahn Murderer for his habit of using the S-Bahn railway where he worked to attack his victims. He took advantage of the blacked-out train carriages to target women travelling alone and who were not suspicious of a uniformed railway employee approaching them. After his arrest in 1941 he confessed to eight murders, six attempted murders and 31 sexual assaults.

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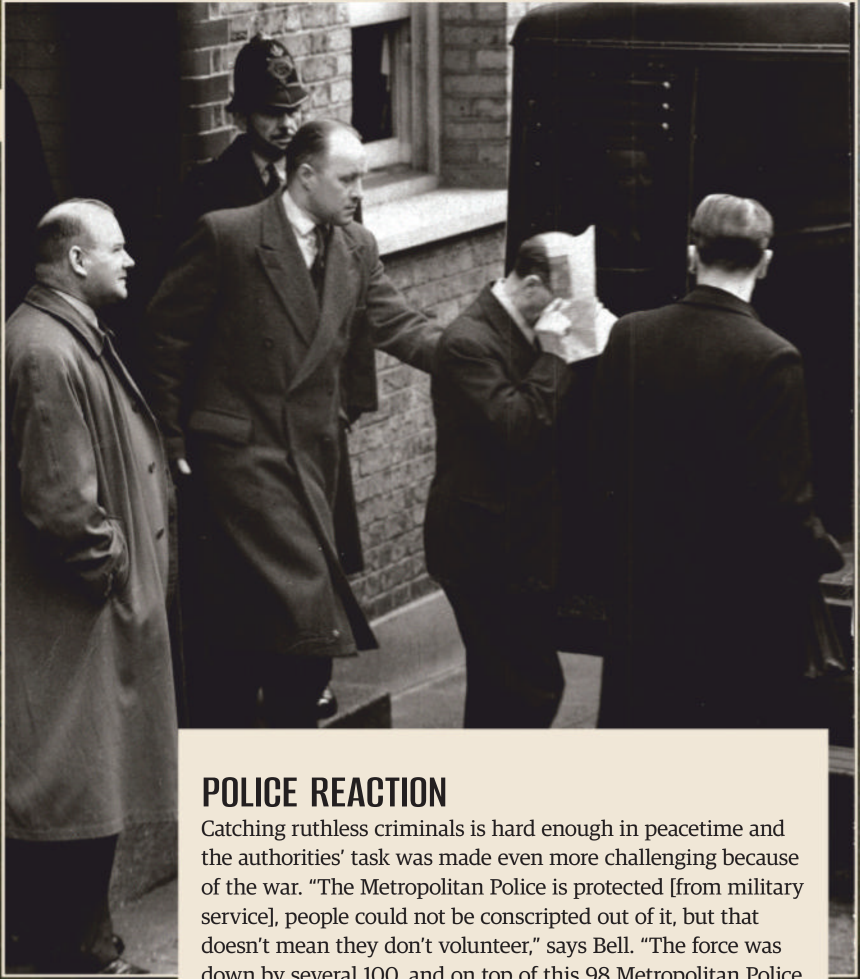


LEFT Serial killer John Christie murdered his first victims during the Second World War

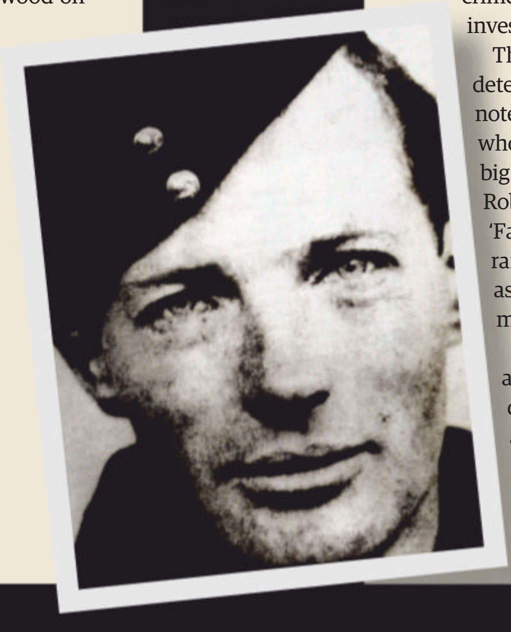
ABOVE Christie shown leaving court after his conviction

BELOW Gordon Frederick Cummins, the Blackout Ripper

Margaret Florence Lowe on the 11th and Doris Jouannet on the 12th.

Cummins then made two failed attempts to claim further victims, assaulting Catherine Mulchany on the 12th (shortly before his murder of Jouannet) and Margaret Heywood on the 13th, leaving behind evidence in both cases. In his haste to leave Mulchany, he left his RAF webbing belt, and after his attack on Heywood he left behind his gas mask and haversack.

The haversack was to prove the crucial piece of evidence because Cummins' service number was scrawled inside it. He was arrested on 14 February and when searching his quarters police officers uncovered a number of items he had taken from his murder victims, as well as a bloodstained shirt and traces of dust from the air raid shelter where Hamilton's body had been discovered. On 25 June 1942 Cummins was executed by famed executioner Albert Pierrepoint, and the Blackout Ripper's reign of terror was finally over. But there were other killers still operating on the forboding streets of blackout London…



POLICE REACTION

Catching ruthless criminals is hard enough in peacetime and the authorities' task was made even more challenging because of the war. "The Metropolitan Police is protected [from military service], people could not be conscripted out of it, but that doesn't mean they don't volunteer," says Bell. "The force was down by several 100, and on top of this 98 Metropolitan Police Officers are killed on duty by enemy action and 210 seriously injured. The City of London Police lost four men on active duty during the air raids."

The main solution to the Metropolitan Police's manpower problem was to use the First Police Reserve – retired officers who were brought back onto the force. Despite this, the Metropolitan force's staffing levels would remain low for the duration of the war and did not return to their normal levels until the late 1940s.

The over-stretched police force did its best to overcome its manpower shortage in the face of rising crime. "They are working incredibly hard," Bell tells us. "If you examine criminal files, for example missing person cases, there's an enormous attention to detail. If a body has been found and there's no direct witnesses, they'll still take as many statements as possible. So despite the perception that crime is out of control, when it comes to homicide investigation they are still working incredibly hard."

The Metropolitan Police also had a number of detectives who would go on to become particularly noteworthy after the war. "A lot of the detectives who get their start during the war later become big names in homicide investigation, for example Robert Fabian," Bell explains. Better known as 'Fabian of the Yard', he would eventually reach the rank of superintendent and is best remembered as the detective who investigated the 'witchcraft' murder of Charles Walton in February 1945.

Following his retirement in 1949, Fabian became a household name. He wrote a number of books detailing his exploits that were later turned into a popular TV series *Fabian of the Yard*, which ran from 1954-56. In 1956 he even appeared on BBC radio's *Desert Island Discs* (choosing an umbrella as his luxury item) and was a guest on the TV

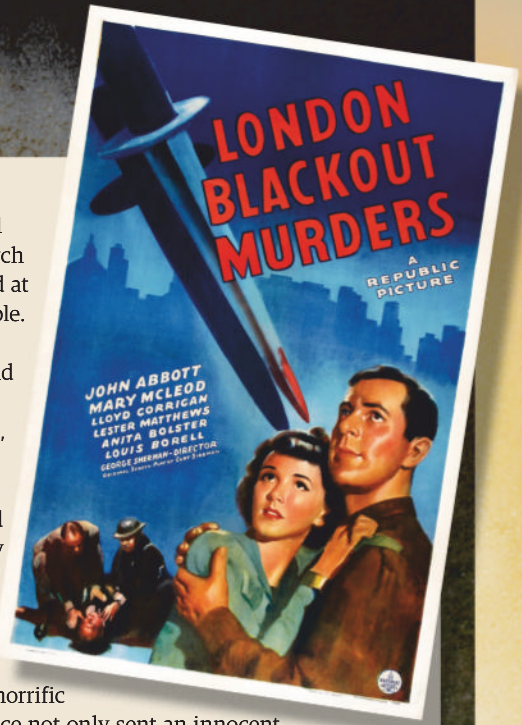
"ON 23 APRIL 1945, NEARLY SIX YEARS AFTER IT BEGAN, THE BLACKOUT WAS FINALLY LIFTED"

series *What's My Line?* in 1951 and *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson* in 1971.

RILLINGTON PLACE MURDERS

Undoubtedly one of Britain's most infamous serial killers is John Reginald Christie, better-known as the man responsible for the 10 Rillington Place murders. Although active until 1953, Christie is known to have murdered his first victim, Ruth Fuerst, sometime in August 1943 while the war still raged. What was more, Christie utilised his position as a war reserve policeman to abuse his victims' trust. "He's known and trusted in the community," says Bell. "He becomes friends with Fuerst and is able to entice her to his house. Once there, he strangles her."

But Fuerst was not Christie's only wartime victim. A year later, in October 1944, Christie convinced Muriel Amelia Eady to visit his home where, after tricking her into breathing in domestic gas, he raped and strangled her. Both bodies were buried in the back garden of 10 Rillington Place, where Christie occupied the ground-floor flat. The remains of Fuerst and Eady would not be uncovered until almost a decade later.



RIGHT Before WWII had even ended, low-budget US films such as this 1943 thriller used the blackout as a setting

Between the end of the war and March 1953, Christie killed at least six more people. Among them were Beryl Evans, 20, and her one-year-old daughter Gerladine, who occupied the top-floor flat. Tragically, husband and father Timothy Evans was arrested in 1949 and executed for the murder of Geraldine. This horrific miscarriage of justice not only sent an innocent man to his death, but it also allowed Christie to remain active for a further four years.

During this time he was able to claim several more victims, including his wife Ethel. His reign of terror only ended when he was forced to move out of his flat by his landlord after he was discovered subletting it to another couple. When a tenant in a different property was given permission to use the now-empty kitchen, he discovered the remains of several of Christie's victims hidden inside an alcove. A police investigation then found the remains of Fuerst and Eady buried in the garden. Christie was executed on 15 July 1953.

In 1965, Britain began the process of ending capital punishment for murder, formally abolishing it in 1969. In 2004, after a long campaign by Evans' family to have his conviction quashed, judges dismissed their appeal but did state that Evans should now be considered innocent of both murders. Justice Collins said: "The material put before us persuades me that Timothy Evans should indeed be regarded as having been innocent of the charge of which he was convicted." He added that "no jury could properly have convicted him of murdering his wife".

INTO THE LIGHT

On 3 April 1945, nearly six years after it began, the blackout was finally lifted. Prior to this, beginning in September of the previous year, the government had sanctioned the move in some areas towards a 'dim out'. This allowed the use of more lights than in the previous years but still involved heavy restrictions. However, the relaxing of restrictions was complicated by newspaper articles that mistakenly suggested a full lifting of the blackout was occurring.

The blackout has become part of our nostalgic view of the Second World War's home front in the UK, part of the mythic 'Spirit of the Blitz' which we saw referenced so much during the recent coronavirus pandemic. But the real blackout was fraught with danger, not only from German bombs but also from thieves, looters and serial killers who took advantage of the darkness. So the next time you experience a blackout of your own, spare a thought for the population of wartime London taking shelter not only from the threat of relentless German air raids but also from the criminals that lurked in the dark. ○

FROM BATTLE TO BLITZ

How the Battle of Britain led directly to the Blitz

Following the 1940 evacuation of British forces from Dunkirk in France, Germany began to prepare for an invasion of Britain. In order to cripple its enemy's defences, the Nazis attempted to gain air superiority and in the summer of 1940 launched attacks on shipping and coastal targets on Britain's southern coast, before specifically targeting the RAF.

But the German High Command's decision on 7 September to focus its aerial attacks on London gave the RAF the time it desperately needed to recover and eventually repel the Luftwaffe. The Nazis' sustained bombing raids on London and other major cities killed thousands and caused widespread damage – but failed to break civilian morale.

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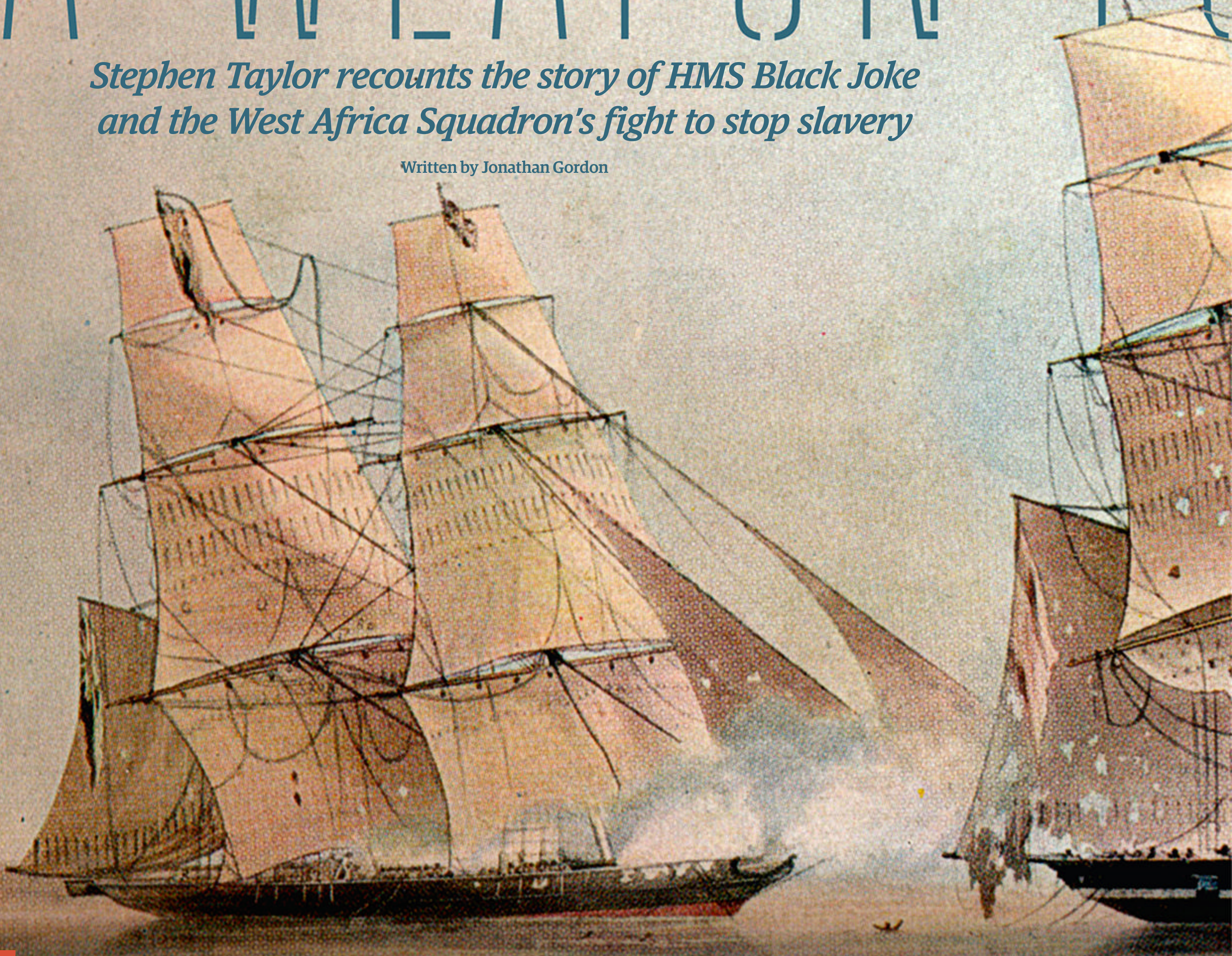
A WEAPON F

Stephen Taylor recounts the story of HMS Black Joke and the West Africa Squadron's fight to stop slavery

Written by Jonathan Gordon



In 1807, after many years of campaigning by an ever-growing abolitionist movement, the British Parliament passed the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. While this did not free people who were already enslaved, it was the beginning of a process that would bring to an end Britain's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. British enslavers didn't necessarily end their involvement immediately, however, so the Royal Navy was drafted in to hunt down ships still being used to transport this grim human cargo.

Released from their commitments in the Napoleonic Wars, these navy ships gradually began to intercept vessels of all nations who were kidnapping men and women from West Africa and shipping them under horrific conditions to the Americas. These Royal Navy vessels became known as the West Africa Squadron.

"Royal Navy ships started intercepting and capturing transatlantic slavers soon after the 1807 Act of Abolition," explains Stephen Taylor, author of *Predator of the Seas* (Yale University Press), a new book that focuses on one of the important ships in that mission. "But their numbers and activity were limited by the Napoleonic Wars and it was only in 1819 that the West Africa Squadron – or the Preventative Squadron as it was officially known – was permanently stationed at Freetown in Sierra Leone."

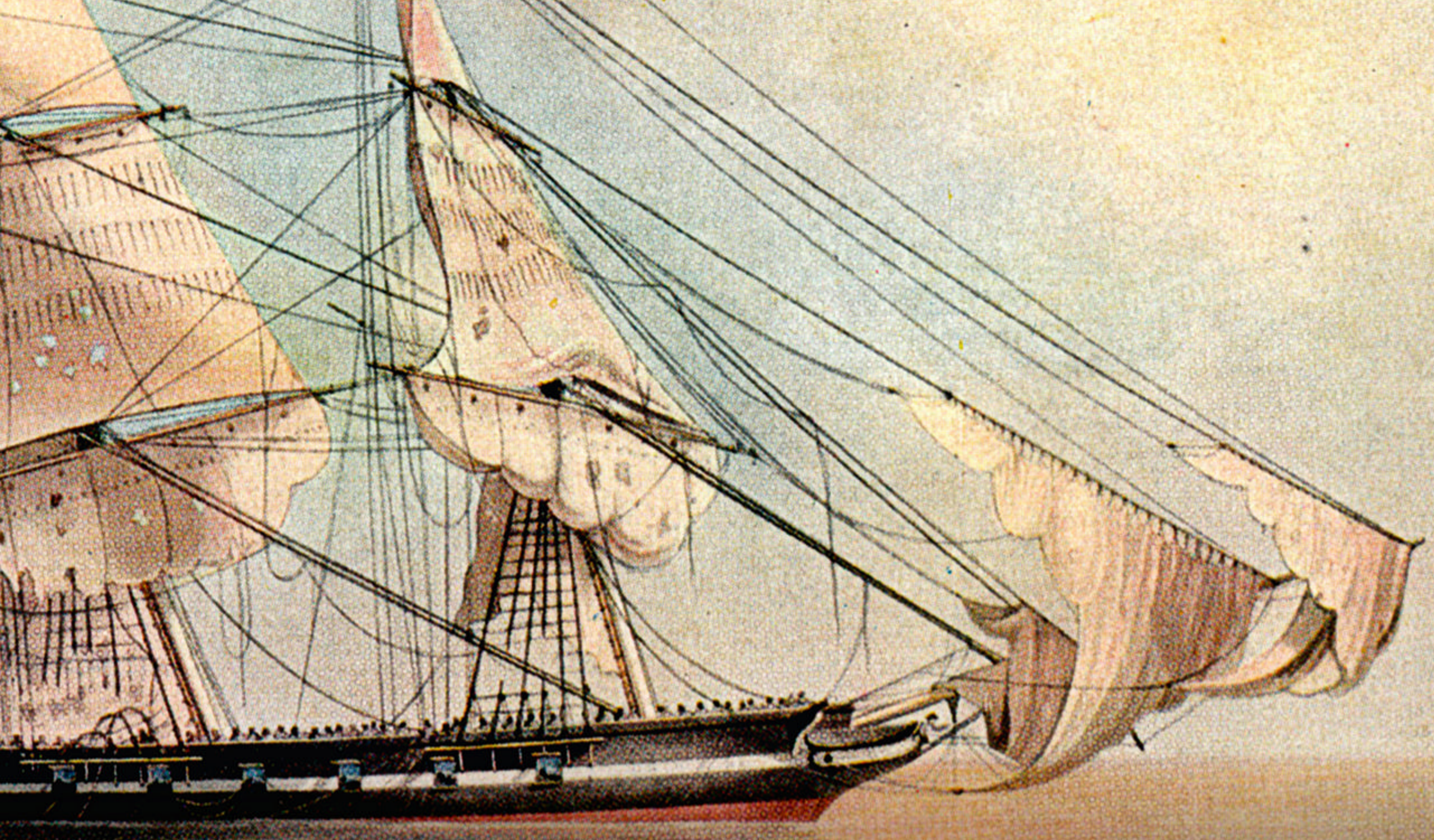
OR ABOLITION

© Stephen Taylor

EXPERT BIO

STEPHEN TAYLOR

Stephen is a maritime historian, biographer and travel writer. He has worked as a foreign correspondent for *The Times*, *The Observer* and *The Economist* and his books include *Storm And Conquest*, *Commander* and *Sons of the Waves*.



Taylor's book is most interested in one of the most famous ships in that force: HMS Black Joke. "She was a vessel of a type known as a Baltimore clipper, built in 1824, named the Henriqueta, and set by her owner Jose de Cerqueira Lima to trafficking enslaved Africans to the Brazilian port of Bahia (now Salvador)," Taylor tells us. "Baltimore vessels had proved highly suited to the requirements of transatlantic slave traders, being far swifter and more agile than the British ships sent to suppress the slave trade, and the Henriqueta helped turn Cerqueira Lima into one of Brazil's richest magnates. In three years, she transported more than 3,000 men, women and children - in harrowing conditions within her dimensions of just 90ft [27m] by 26ft [8m] - to plantations in the former Portuguese colony."

Baltimore clippers were originally designed in Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, in the 18th century and were greatly prized for their speed by merchants transporting perishable goods as well as by privateers and slavers. The Henriqueta was already well known for this reason and, despite its purpose, greatly admired as a ship by sailors. "The Henriqueta's success in repeatedly evading Royal Navy ships won her notoriety among officers and men of the squadron cruising to intercept slavers off the bights of West Africa," says Taylor. "At the same time, they envied not only her ▶

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TIMELINE OF ABOLITION

The road to the end of slavery in Britain and the empire

1787

Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species by Ottobah Cugoano is published and The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade is founded.

1789

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano is published. Equiano had made enough money to free himself and formed an abolitionist group called the Sons of Africa, made up of formerly enslaved Black Britons.

1790

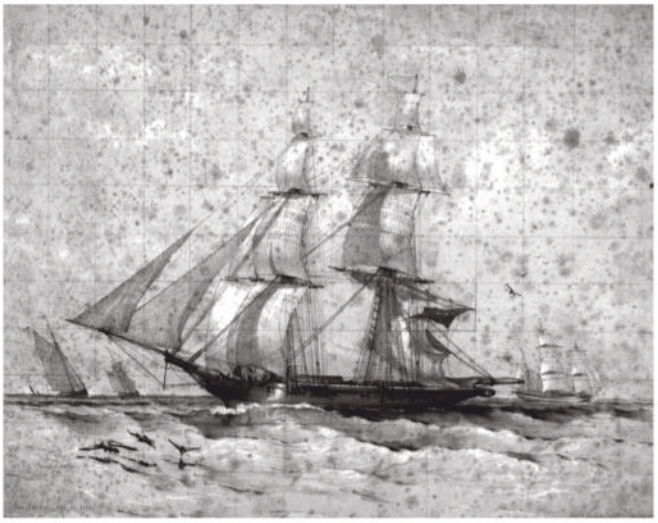
William Wilberforce submits his first Abolition Bill to the British Parliament, but it is rejected.

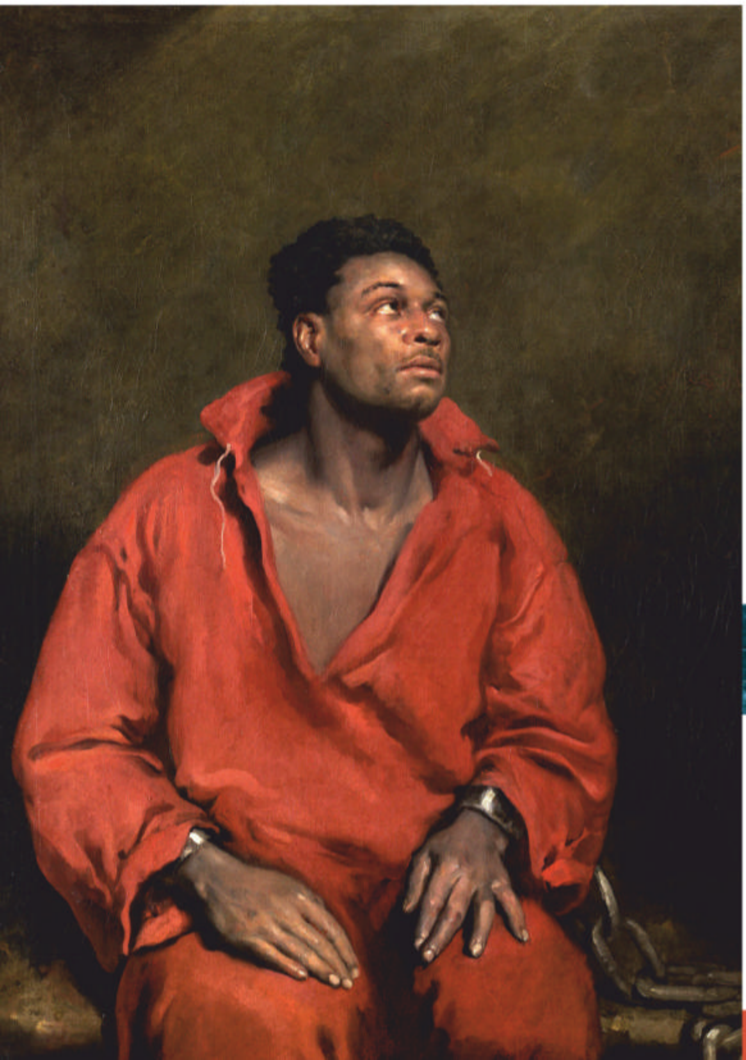
1791

The Haitian Revolution, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, begins on the French colony of Saint-Domingue.

1803

Denmark is the first European country to abolish the slave trade following a royal decree made in 1792.





ABOVE LEFT The HMS Waterwitch was involved in the anti-slave trade patrols

LEFT An enslaved man, painted by English artist John Simpson in 1827

speed and her seafaring magic but her sleek, sweeping lines. There was something chilling in the light of the atrocities that defined her: mariners saw her as an object of beauty."

When an opportunity came to take the ship, Commodore Francis Collier, a future admiral and naval aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, wasted no time. "She might have remained a hell afloat but for a blunder by her over-confident master on their seventh slaving voyage," reveals Taylor. "Sailing from Lagos in September 1827 with 569 captives loaded below, he attempted to cross the bow of a navy frigate and was captured. Commodore Francis Collier, the squadron's commander, seized his opportunity. The Henriqueta was renamed the Black Joke. A poacher had been turned gamekeeper."

The procurement of such a fast ship to the West Africa Squadron seems like a commonsense move. Since these clippers and fast ships like them were used by enslavers, using them to chase them down instead of the navy's slower, albeit heavier and better armed, ships has some logic to it. It wasn't the policy of the Royal Navy to do this, however. "The Admiralty – the navy's governing body – had expressly forbidden it, even though the ships assigned to the West Africa Squadron were relics of the Napoleonic Wars and, being unsuited to pursuit of the latest Baltimore designs, were frequently left trailing in the wake of slavers," says Taylor. "The upshot was that after a slave ship was captured and taken to Sierra Leone, where the rescued African captives were declared emancipated, the vessel was sold at public auction. Not only was the squadron denied valuable and accessible resources, but also many auctioned vessels found their way surreptitiously back into the hands of slave traders."

> "THE HENRIQUETA WAS RENAMED THE BLACK JOKE. A POACHER HAD BEEN TURNED GAMEKEEPER"

In many ways the squadron was always under-funded and under-equipped. "Its commanding officers were never provided with resources capable of suppressing transatlantic trafficking," explains Taylor. "A single frigate, four smaller warships and two brigs – even some of those hopeless laggards – proved unfit to tackle the surge in slaving to Brazil and Spain's colonies in the 1820s. A further hindrance was the danger of disease. Patrolling the bights of West Africa was a dreaded duty, carrying the highest mortality rate of any navy station. A yellow fever outbreak of 1829 claimed the lives of 202 out of 792 officers and men – more than a quarter of the force. Ships of the squadron continued to cruise until 1867, having rescued an estimated 160,000 Africans, when the transatlantic slave trade was deemed to have ended." But in that time over three million Africans are believed to have been trafficked to the Americas, which speaks to the scale of the challenge these missions faced.

1804

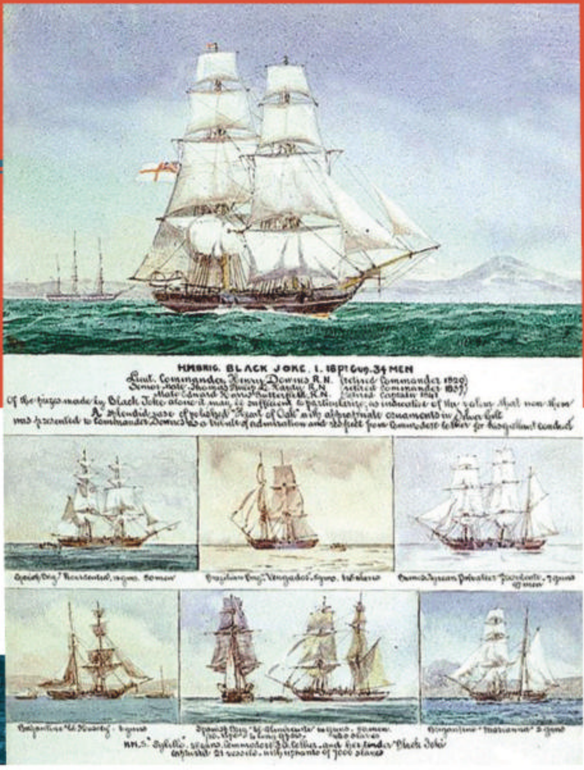
The Republic of Haiti is established on the island formerly known as Saint-Domingue after the revolution. It is the first nation in the world to abolish slavery.

1807

The Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade is passed by Parliament, making the buying and selling of enslaved people illegal in the empire. Slave labour is not ended by this act.

1833

The Slavery Abolition Act is passed by Parliament, freeing all enslaved people in the Caribbean. It takes effect in 1834, but some territories have to wait a little longer.


H.M.BRIG. BLACK JOKE. 1. 18Pr Gun. 34 MEN

RIGHT The HMS Black Joke and some of the slave ships it helped to capture

BELOW Despite abolition in Britain, the anti-slavery movement remained strong as this 1841 meeting at Exeter Hall attests

Enterprising commanders looked to improve their chances by turning the tables and using the slavers' captured fast ships against them. "Collier's predecessor, Commodore Charles Bullen, was the first to turn a blind eye to his orders, buying two former slave ships out of his own pocket, with clear benefits to the campaign," Taylor tells us. "But although the Admiralty's intransigence had softened by the time Collier purchased and renamed his prize the Black Joke, she was still defined as a 'tender' [transport ship], and as such was officially allowed to sail only as a supply vessel. In reality, Collier released her to cruise independently and battle the very atrocities she had once enabled." ▶

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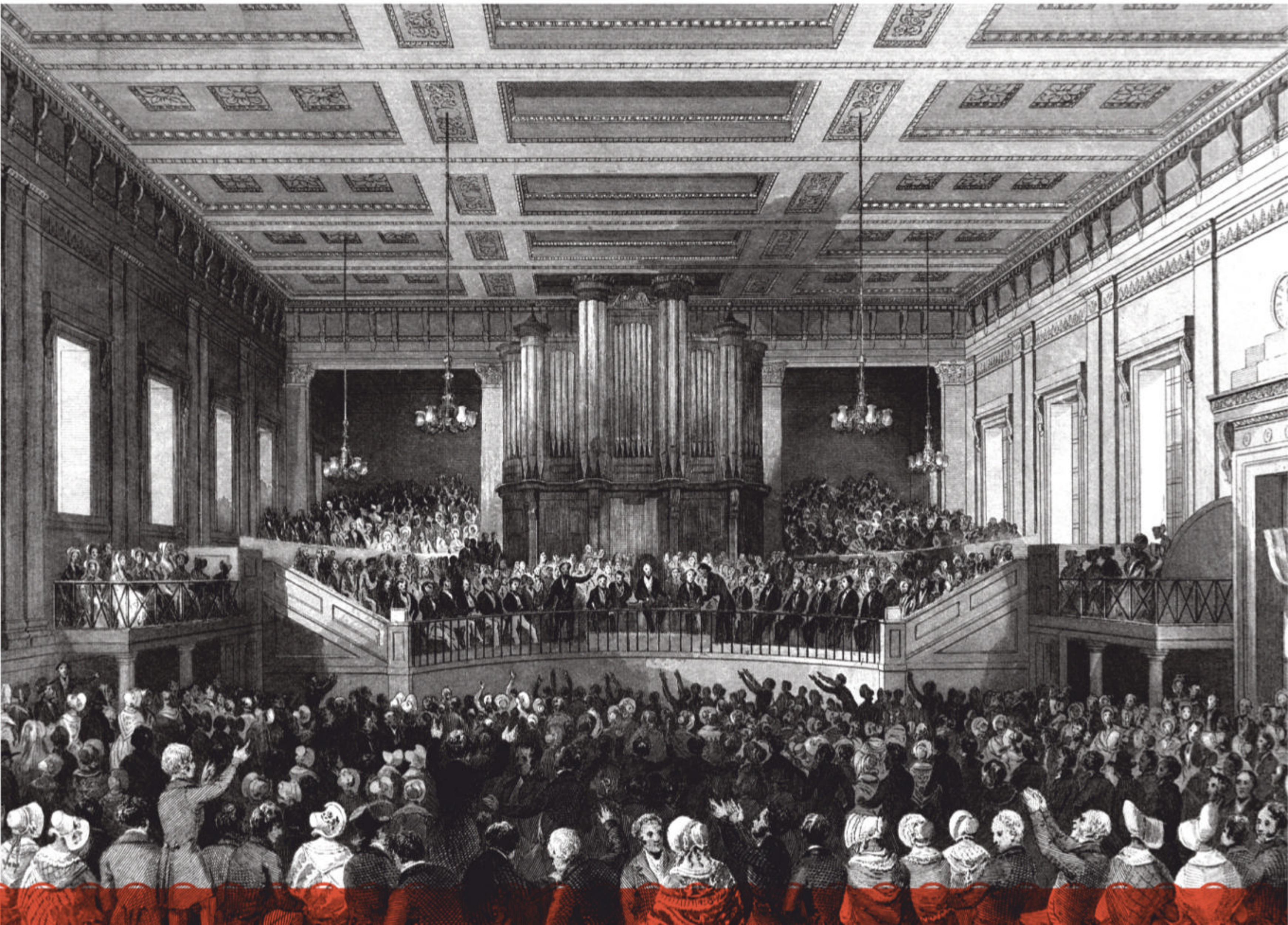
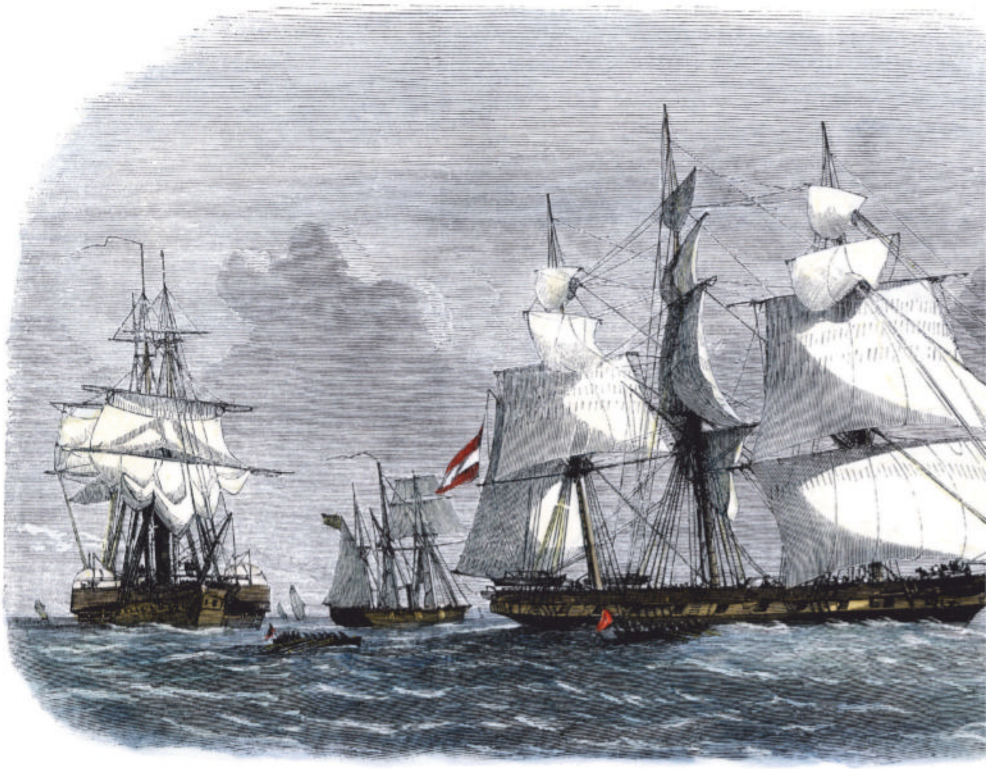
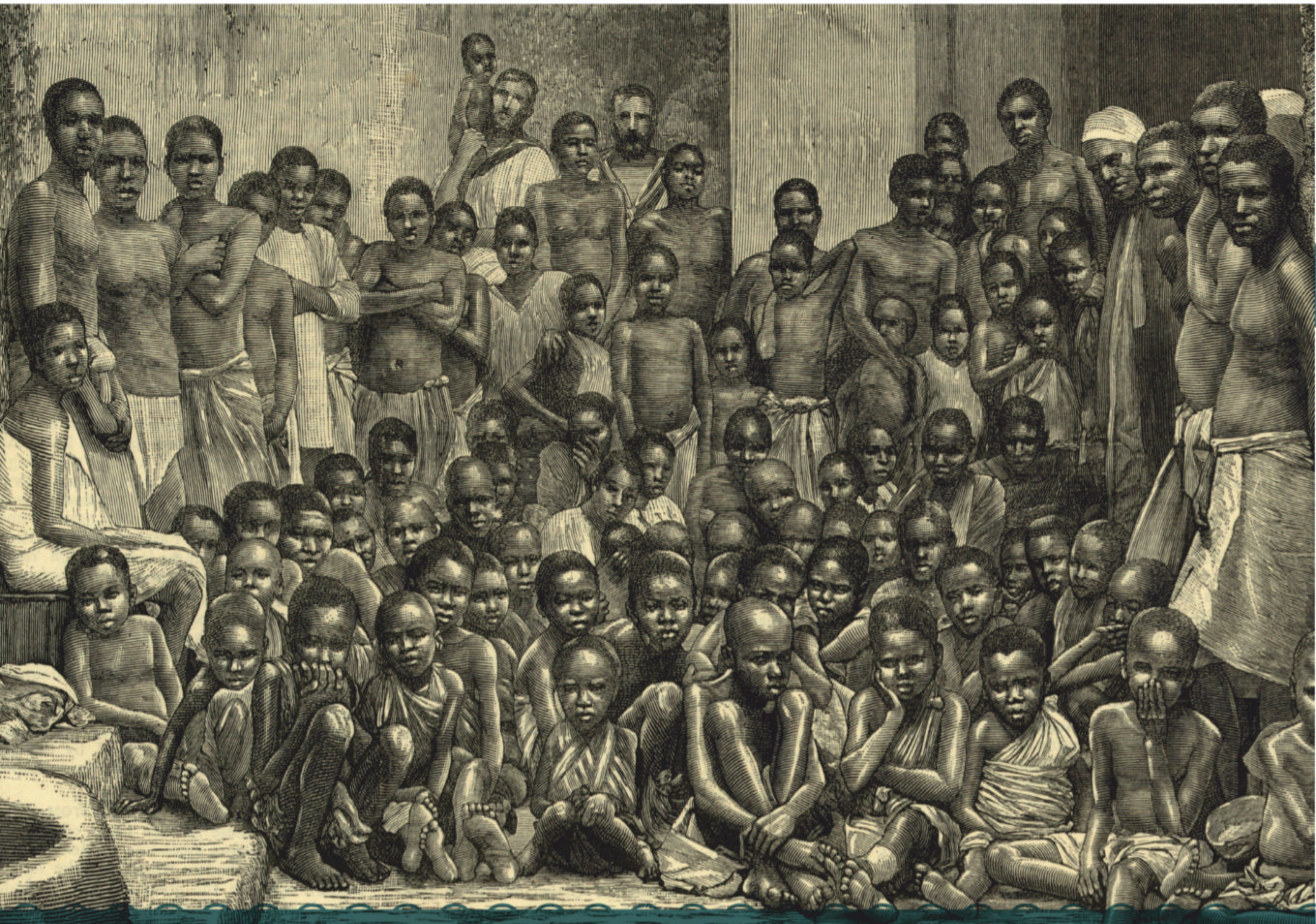


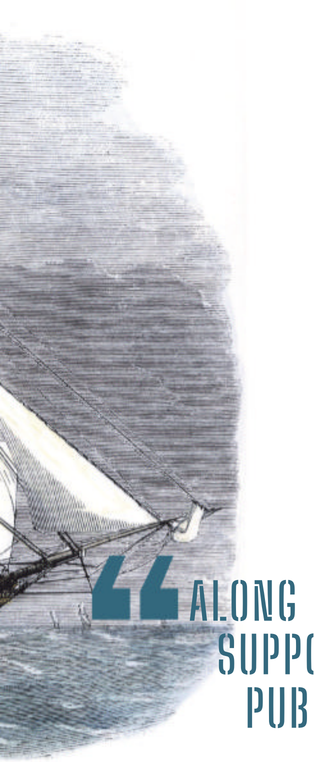
Her first contribution to the battle against slavery was to inspire those involved in the fight. “She provided an invaluable injection of morale,” says Taylor. “From the outset she proved successful in the chase, making her first capture within a week of sailing from Freetown in January 1828 and saving 155 men, women and children from slavery in Cuba. Her next rescue set a benchmark. A pursuit ran for almost 30 hours before her men boarded the Brazilian brig Vengador, rescuing 645 captives – more than from any of the 390 vessels seized by the West Africa Squadron in its previous 22-year history. That would endure as a chilling record until 1834.”

However, it was the capture of another slaver ship that would go down in legend. “Her most famous action was the capture in 1829 of a notorious Spanish slaver El Almirante, carrying almost 500 Africans, after another prolonged chase and a broadside battle. Despite the vast disparity in their firepower – two guns against 14 on the Spaniard – the Black Joke prevailed. Fifteen of the slaver’s crew were killed in one of the squadron’s bloodiest actions.”

Another of Black Joke’s successful captures would take place in 1831 under the command of Lieutenant William Ramsay. Patrolling the area of what is now southeast Nigeria and the island of Bioko (then Fernando Po), her 44-man crew managed to take down a 300-ton Spanish brig called the Marinerito with more than 70 crew with 496 enslaved people on board. “It would be pleasing to suggest that the Black Joke had a wider impact. However, the squadron continued to be undermined by the Admiralty’s indifference,







its refusal to deploy more fast-sailing captured slavers," laments Taylor. "In what I could only attribute to a blend of chauvinism and resistance to innovation, the navy's commissioners failed to turn these American-designed vessels to their own use."

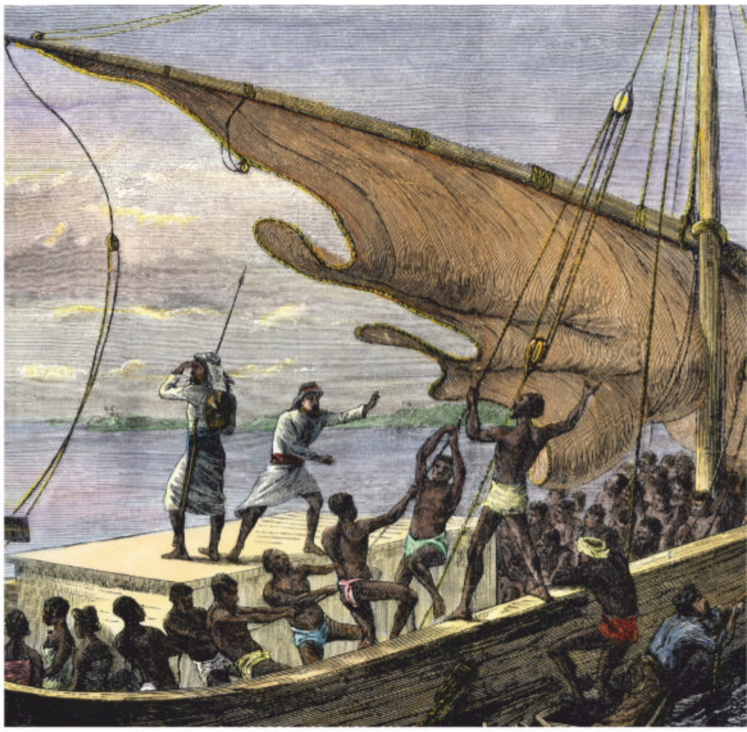
Some of this ambivalence could perhaps be traced back to the priorities of the government, as Taylor explains: "Along with active abolitionists, support was seen in the press and public approval of the squadron. However, Britain's position remained ambiguous. Although the 1807 Act of Abolition prohibited the trade in the British Empire, tens of thousands of men, women and children were still enslaved on plantations in British Caribbean territories. It was only in the late 1820s that the liberation movement gained political momentum, leading to what has become known as Emancipation Day and the gradual freeing from 1833 of those enslaved by British citizens."

Taylor believes that the story of this one ship, once the Henriqueta and then HMS Black Joke, offers a lens through which to examine all the facets of this period of history. "The Black Joke's story provided an opportunity to explore a harrowing yet complex subject through the life of a single vessel," he says. "Details of the Henriqueta's seven voyages, the conditions in which an estimated 3,040 Africans were transported to Brazil and the existence that awaited them as slaves are related through the surviving records.

"Britain's long operation to suppress the trade has been the subject of a number of books. In focusing on one vessel, I have tried to present a balanced picture between, on the one hand, a noble endeavour, the heroism and suffering of naval officers and men, and, on the other, the paradoxical human flaws that undermined their best efforts. It may be noted, for example, that while the Black Joke was still rescuing African captives, one commissioner of the Admiralty, Lord William Douglas, retained slaving possessions in Tobago."

HMS Black Joke is one small part of a bigger story of the West Africa Squadron and the efforts of the Royal Navy to stop the trade of enslaved Africans to the Americas. The mission, on the whole, may only have been partially successful, but it appears to have enjoyed popular support at home. The Black Joke and the West Africa Squadron is a fascinating chapter in story of Britain's journey towards full abolition as it gradually and sometimes unevenly finally abolished slavery throughout the empire. So what became of the ship? Taylor reveals: "Symptomatic of this perverse obstinacy was an Admiralty order to destroy the Black Joke when her timbers were weakening but remained in a state fit for repair. Instead, she was set on fire at Freetown in 1832. By the end of her seafaring life the Black Joke had taken 14 slave ships and freed 3,692 men, women and children – more than she had carried into slavery." ○

> "ALONG WITH ACTIVE ABOLITIONISTS, SUPPORT WAS SEEN IN THE PRESS AND PUBLIC APPROVAL OF THE SQUADRON"



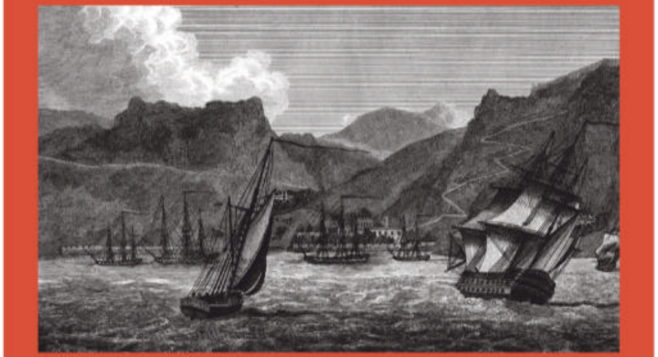
ABOVE A slave ship being captured off the coast of Cuba in 1850

LEFT An 1884 depiction of enslaved men, women and children rescued from a slaver ship by HMS Undine

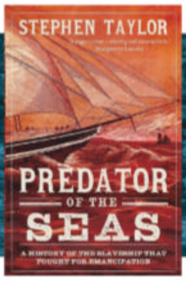
TOP RIGHT A slave ship hoists its sail and prepares to flee after spotting a navy vessel

NOT QUITE FREE

What happened to the people 'emancipated' by the Royal Navy?



When the Royal Navy captured a slaver ship off the coast of West Africa, it set about liberating the captured Africans on board – but the process wasn't as clean cut as we might hope. Between 1808 and 1834, slavery was not fully abolished by the British and enslaved people taken by the navy were considered property of the Crown. They were to be conscripted into the military or apprenticed to work without pay for up to 14 years. 'Freed' men, women and children were not repatriated, instead they were dropped off at a British colony, such as Sierra Leone or Saint Helena, to be processed by a slow-moving bureaucracy. It's another example of the multi-faceted horrors of slavery that even being rescued from the clutches of Portuguese, Brazilian or Spanish slavers didn't promise a return to normality for people taken from their homes. 'Liberation' by the West Africa Squadron may have been preferable, but it didn't promise restitution.



PREDATOR OF THE SEAS
BY STEPHEN TAYLOR
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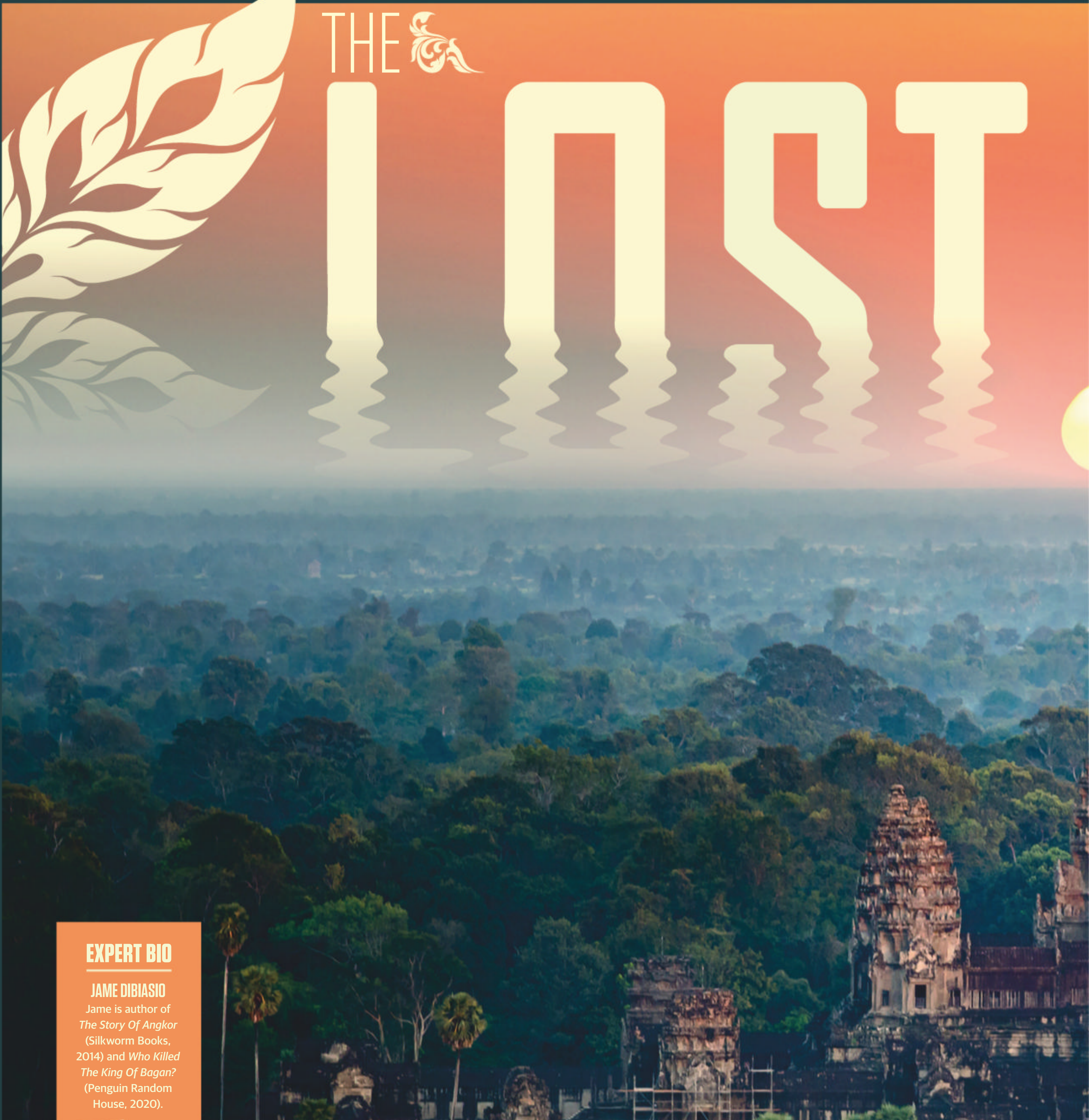
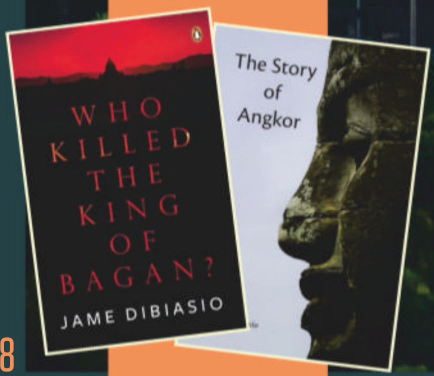
THE LOST



EXPERT BIO

JAME DIBIASIO
Jame is author of *The Story Of Angkor* (Silkworm Books, 2014) and *Who Killed The King Of Bagan?* (Penguin Random House, 2020).


WHO KILLED THE KING OF BAGAN?
JAME DIBIASIO
The Story of Angkor

CITIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Uncovering the history and legacy of some of the world's most mysterious locations

Written by Jame DiBiasio

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Southeast Asia is dotted with ancient, often abandoned sites of earlier civilisations. These range from B-52-bombed temples of My Son in the Vietnamese mountains to the magisterial Buddhist stupa Borobudur, surrounded by the smoking volcanoes of Java.

There are countless individual religious sites, some more than a millennium old, peppering the region's forests and mountains. The biggest are the cities of Angkor, in Cambodia, and Bagan, in Burma. Both were abandoned and suffered the encroachment of the elements. This has given them an aura of being lost cities in exotic locations, the sort of places that serve as backdrops to a Lara Croft or Indiana Jones movie.

But these ruined cities are not sets for Western movies. They represent the pre-modern civilisations of Southeast Asia, which still resonate for local people and their sense of nationhood.

Visiting Angkor and Bagan is thrilling, and there's nothing wrong with making them part of your own adventure on TikTok or Instagram. You'll see local people doing the same. But these aren't exotic curiosities for Cambodians, Burmese or other people from the region. These are important symbols of their national or religious identity. To them, these places aren't lost at all, any more than Notre-Dame is lost to Parisians.

Notre-Dame, by the way, was commissioned in 1163, about ten years after the Khmers had already built Angkor Wat, which dwarfs the Vatican, and after the Bagan king Alung-sithu I oversaw the building of Thatbyinnyu temple, which rises just ▶

as high as Notre-Dame's towers. It took the French a century to complete Notre-Dame, but the Khmers and Bamars could erect their biggest monuments in a matter of years, and decorate them with magnificent bas-reliefs, murals and statuary.

The difference is that cathedrals in European cities have always remained in active use, embedded in cities with ancient roots (Paris' roots go back to the third century BCE). By contrast, the lost cities of Southeast Asia are relatively new: Angkor city was founded in 910; Bagan probably in the 980s. In both cases, though, they were fashioned upon the rise of earlier civilisations.

What marks the lost cities and temples of Southeast Asia is their shared inheritance of Indian culture. A basic handle on Indic iconography is handy when visiting these places. Buddhist and Hindu notions of religion, kingship and society informed the architecture and design of Angkor, Bagan, and all the other 'lost city' sites.

India was the cultural superpower of the ancient world. Hinduism became the religion of monarchs because it provided a sophisticated argument for kings, conquests and their divine backing. In Southeast Asia, cults dedicated to Shiva or Vishnu held sway for centuries over Angkor, Champa (southern Vietnam) and the Majapahit dynasty in Java.

Buddhism travelled more easily, though, as it was favoured by merchants and commoners attracted by its universal message of equality and compassion. Monasteries became important economic centres, with monks engaging in commerce and banking, sustaining the faith even when it lacked political patronage.

> "WHAT MARKS THE LOST CITIES AND TEMPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA IS THEIR SHARED INHERITANCE OF INDIAN CULTURE"

Bagan's founding by King Anawrahta circa 1044 was revolutionary because it involved an alliance between the Bamar military class with the Theravada Buddhist church, one that still defines Burma today. Yet its setting on a dusty plain, in the crook of the Irrawaddy River, was just as inhospitable to urbanisation as the jungles of Cambodia.

Bagan remained small in population, existing mainly to house the imperial family, the court and the leaders of the sangha (Buddhist community). Yet the logic of the political alliance between Anawrahta and the Theravada church led the king to sponsor the foundation of many stupas, temples and monasteries. His followers did the same, to the point of financial ruin. In the space of 300 years, the plains of Bagan supported up to 4,000 Buddhist monuments, most of which remain intact.

In India, Buddhism gradually lost its grip in the face of hostility by Hindu monarchs. (It maintained redoubts in Sri Lanka and Bengal.) But Buddhist monks, artisans and merchants found Southeast Asia welcoming. In some places, such as Angkor under its Shaivite cults, Buddhists were tolerated but regarded with suspicion. But in other lands, rulers mixed freely among both faiths, including Champa and the various dynasties of Java.

Religious strife in Southeast Asia was rare, but it was politicised in Angkor. Since its founding, the city had been ruled by Shiva- or Vishnu-worshiping cultists. Most temples up to the 1180s were dedicated to Shiva, the glorious exception being the Vishna-dedicated behemoth, Angkor Wat.

That changed amid a long, grinding war that pitted Angkor against Champa, and factions within both realms against one another. Following several raids by Chams against Angkor, including one that sacked the capital, a Khmer prince emerged as the dominant military player. This was Jayavarman VII, whose origins are obscure. He had been raised a Mahayana Buddhist with Cham allies, but he defeated the Cham invaders and seized power. Jayavarman VII went on to invade and conquer Champa, while also shoring up Khmer control of the Malayan peninsula (a vital chokepoint for maritime trade), ensuring that it didn't fall into the hands of Bagan.

His regime was a radical departure within Angkor. Instead of ruling unapologetically as a Shiva-consecrated despot, Jayavarman VII wanted to bring salvation to his people. He went on a mad building spree, erecting

ABOVE Buddhist monks visiting the Bayon temple at Angkor

BELOW LEFT An incredible marriage of architecture and nature can be seen at Angkor Thom

BELOW Bagan was known as the city of four million pagodas

hospitals, waystations and roads that were meant to bring comfort and security to commoners. He featured ordinary people in the bas-reliefs gracing his temples, notably the Bayon, which is famous for its enigmatic faces.

Those faces are most likely symbols of Tantric Buddhism, and it's possible that this was influenced by a wave of Tantric monks fleeing India, where Mughal invaders were attacking the last Buddhist universities and monasteries.

Tantric Buddhism, also known as esoteric Buddhism, seeks shortcuts to enlightenment via a mix of techniques, including magical ones and physical ones (which gives Tantric the ring of sex to Western ears). There is evidence that Jayavarman VII sponsored crowded rites led by female dancers in newly erected monuments such as Preah Khan.

We are a long way from the absolutism of Shaivite cult rulers, or the austerity of Theravada Buddhist beliefs. The Hindu aristocracy of Angkor did not take well to being sidelined by Jayavarman VII. Upon his death, the Hindu elite went on a rampage, defacing thousands of Buddha images. The damage is still visible among Jayavarman's legacy temples.

But the Hindus who succeeded Jayavarman VII could not hold onto power, and once Buddhist kings returned to power, the Khmer would be under their sway, as they are today.

There was one more transition, however. Jayavarman VII was of the Mahayana tradition. This school emerged in India in tandem with the Theravada and Tantric branches, beginning in the fifth century BCE. Theravada focused on the life and teachings of Buddha, but it can be more philosophical, its texts very technical. The Mahayana school focuses more on the stories of supernatural beings such as bodhisattvas, who delay their enlightenment to help humans in the here and now. It's a more colourful, folksy approach to Buddhism, and therefore has become popular. (It's known as Zen in Japan and Chan in China.)

In Angkor, Jayavarman VII's pomp and building spree drew on Mahayana traditions, which resembled the pageantry of Hindu rule. But his successors, perhaps facing a budgetary crisis and a population exhausted by the extravagances of kings, adopted Theravada Buddhism instead. In Angkor's context, the kings of the 12th and 13th centuries pursued a quieter life and ceased building projects. The city prospered, but overpopulation and its environmental impact, emboldened enemies and rebellion – especially by the upstart Thai peoples – nibbled ▶

BELOW
The incredible monuments speak to the importance of Angkor as a religious centre

MORE & AMAZING TOWNS

LUANG PRABANG

Founded on a peninsula between the Mekong and Nam Khan Rivers in Laos, Luang Prabang was the capital of the Lane Xang kingdom from the 14-16th centuries, and grew in influence thanks to its place on the Silk Road. It's an extraordinary city for its architecture, with many buildings made from wood and temples made from stone.

POLONNARUWA

This was the second capital of Sri Lanka from 993, and today you can see the ruins of the garden-city created by its ruler Parakramabahu I in the 12th century. It was once the commercial and religious centre of the country, which can be attested to thanks to the abundance of temples and monuments that still stand there.

MRAUK-U

You'll find around 200 Buddhist monuments in what was the capital of the Arakanese Kingdom, now situated in modern Myanmar. It was a well-sheltered city thanks to natural hills and rivers giving it protection from attack. Most of its monuments were built in the 15-16th centuries, and the craftsmanship remains impressive to this day.

PHRA NAKHON SI AYUTTHAYA

This city was constructed from 1350 and was the second capital of the Siamese Kingdom. It was incredibly successful, attracting a large population until it was attacked by Burma in 1767 and burned to the ground. All that remains today are its ruins, which remain captivating.

All images: © Getty Images, © Shutterstock

away at the empire. The Theravada court may have encouraged this decay through its passive introspection.

Until that point, however, whether Hindu or Buddhist, the Angkorian rulers had developed a taste for the gargantuan and the bombastic. Their urban design and monumental architecture followed Indic prescriptions but on a scale exceeding anything in India, or anywhere else.

The key to their urban planning was water management. Many ancient societies relied on dams, reservoirs and canals to control their environment. The Khmers outdid them. From the start, the earliest Angkor kings embarked on massive reservoir projects. The giant rectangular East and West Barays (reservoirs) are so large as to defy comprehension through merely reciting their dimensions, but both are visible to the naked eye from the International Space Station.

It's unclear whether these huge pools were primarily for agriculture; scholars lately think that their purpose was ceremonial, to replicate the seas of creation described in ancient Vedic tales, just as the monumental temples evoked the sacred mountains where the Hindu gods reside. The nearby Tonle Sap Lake may have provided enough natural irrigation.

But the reservoirs and the canals that serpentine through Angkor were the heart of a network of irrigation and canals that extended through much of contemporary Cambodia. Angkor was both a densely populated hub and the locus of a vast suburban sprawl. Mastery of hydraulics supported a million-plus population, at a time when London barely boasted 20,000 souls.

Technology played a role at Bagan too. Bamar mastery of weirs boosted agricultural output and supported the big armies that the kings needed to conquer and maintain the empire. From the parched fields around the capital, they subdued a mosaic of ethnic groups; modern Burma officially records 135 of such groups today.

Before Bagan, the dominant culture was the Pyu, likely ethnic Bamar who embraced Indian ideas and built walled cities along rivers in the country's northern heartland. But the rise of the Bamar clique that aligned itself with the Theravada sangha created a new culture, with kings patronising Buddhism while relying on the religious backing to try to unify the culture (with mixed results).

Unlike the Pyu, who dwelled behind walls, most of Bagan's population lived outside. The creation of an empire, whose borders resemble today's Burma, also provided security. And more: the rise of a Theravada-sanctioned kingdom was a magnet for Indian artisans, craftsmen and monks, as well as Hindu court Brahmins. The frenzy of temple-building that Anawrahta commenced was a magnet for talent.

ABOVE This giant Buddha statue is one of four inside the Ananda temple in Bagan

© Getty Images

As in other Southeast Asian lost cities, these temples followed Indic design principles. But many Burmese temples are lofty, their interiors airy – a sharp contrast to the dark, cramped interiors of Angkor monuments. The Bamar had perfected the vault, a technique also found in some Pyu ruins. More remarkable is that, if the engineering was copied from India, it was never used there; it seems the vaulted ceilings of Bagan are unique in Asia.

Bagan's empire fell in 1287 in the face of a Mongol invasion, which revealed the court had become bankrupt and encouraged restive ethnic groups to rebel. Bagan was abandoned and the capital reestablished elsewhere, to begin a new dynasty. A small population remained in the city, but royal patronage ceased building or maintaining its temples, other than a handful of the most prestigious.

But the city endured in Burmese memory; occasionally a wealthy merchant or confident ruler would undertake restoration efforts. Burmese dynasties conjoined and fractured, over and over, but each time the state grew bigger, more powerful and more cohesive. Bagan's temples had been left to the elements, but every Burmese dynast paid respects to Bagan's legacy, including today's military rulers, who venerate Anawrahta.

Angkor was more profoundly lost. Rebellious Thais and invading Burmese sacked it and the rulers abandoned the city for today's Phnom Penh. Only Angkor Wat was maintained by local monks. The rest of the city was claimed by the forest, even its tallest structures buried under vines and mud. Worse, all written accounts of Angkor perished. As Cambodia entered a dark age of illiteracy, Angkor was mostly forgotten. This meant that the French who excavated Angkor also wrote its medieval history according to their own taste. The city really was lost, and it's only in recent years that Khmer historians have begun to regain control over their own narrative.

> “BAGAN WAS ABANDONED AND THE CAPITAL REESTABLISHED ELSEWHERE, TO BEGIN A NEW DYNASTY”

Today Angkor is a major tourist destination – as it deserves to be. Bagan is not well known, and its brief flourishing was crushed by the junta's bloody coup d'etat in 2020. Today it is neither safe nor appropriate to visit Bagan: in this sense, Bagan is once again lost. But even terrible military regimes end, and someday, hopefully soon, Bagan will be available for rediscovery. For 1,000 years, its temples have been waiting for you. ○

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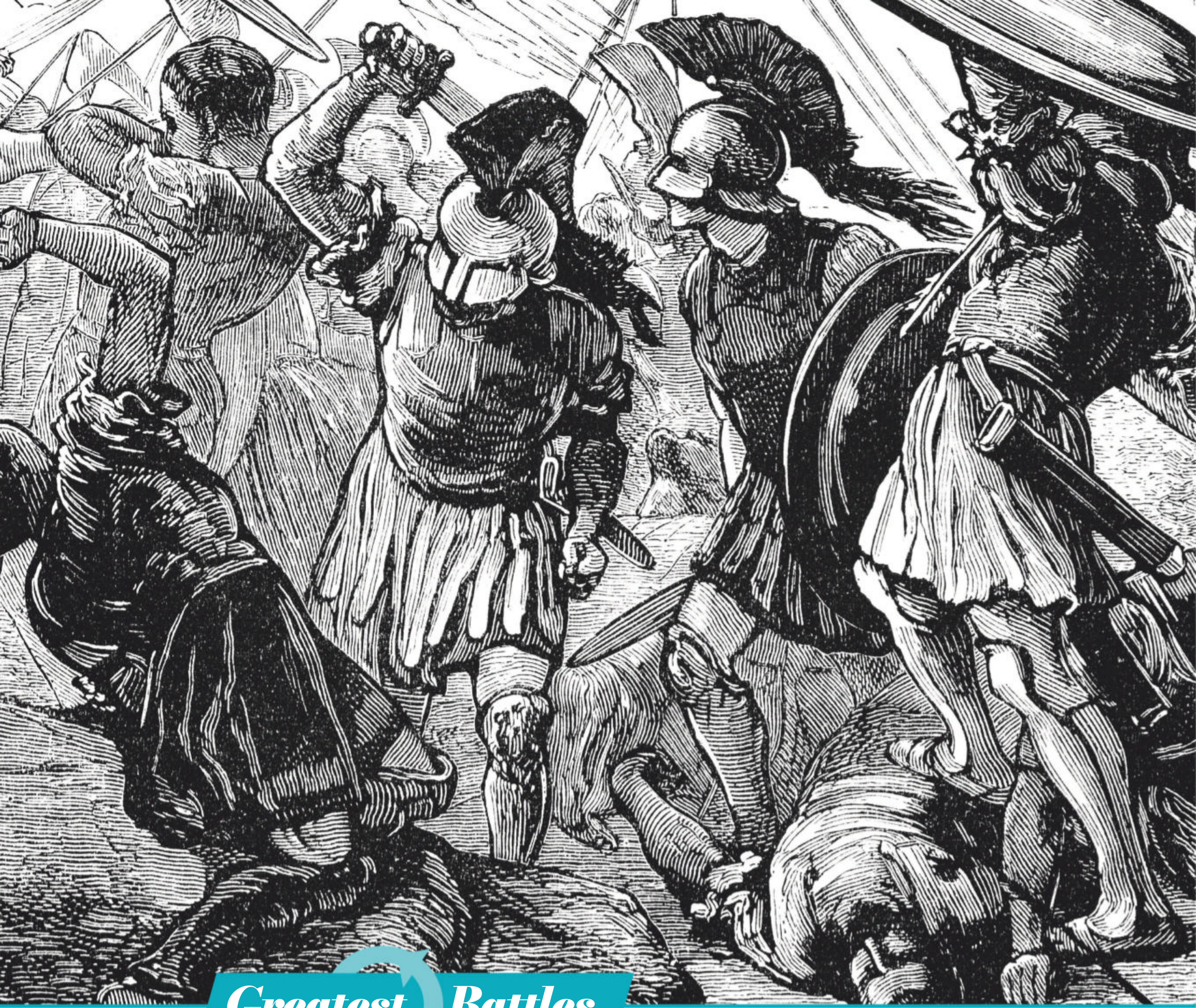


Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF CHAERONEA

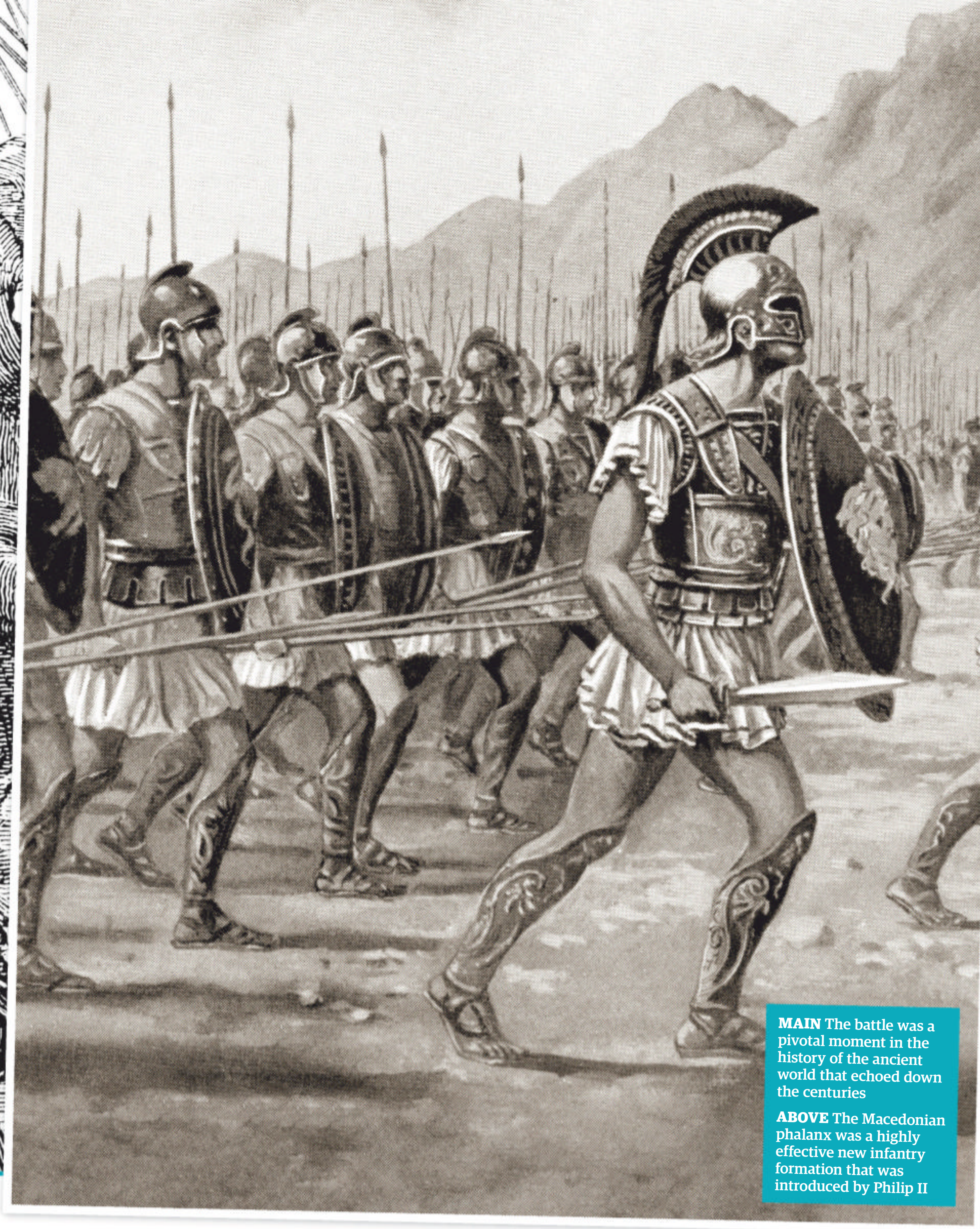
CHAERONEA, GREECE
3 AUGUST 338 BCE

Written by Murray Dahm

The Battle of Chaeronea was one of the most decisive in the ancient world – it decided the fate of Greece. The country's future rested on two of its hitherto greatest military powers: Athens and Thebes. The result of Chaeronea was, however, to be a crushing victory for Macedonia that kept all of Greece compliant to Macedonian will for the next 15 years – this in turn allowed Alexander to embark on his unprecedented conquest of the Persian Empire in 334 BCE.

For such an important engagement we, frustratingly, do not have much surviving source material on it; our best sources for the period are lost and we are left with only summaries and anecdotes. What is more, the historians of Alexander, of which there are many, tend to rush over Chaeronea because of the greatness Alexander achieved after it.

According to the historian Diodorus of Sicily, Philip immediately set about reforming the Macedonian



MAIN The battle was a pivotal moment in the history of the ancient world that echoed down the centuries

ABOVE The Macedonian phalanx was a highly effective new infantry formation that was introduced by Philip II

army after taking power – bringing together the Macedonians in a series of assemblies, equipping and organising them. He then held "constant manoeuvres" of his new invention: the Macedonian phalanx. This infantry formation comprised of six divisions (called taxeis, singular taxis), each of 1,500 men – some 9,000 men in total. These would be drawn up 16 ranks deep with each man armed with a long spear – the sarissa. The Macedonian phalanx could achieve remarkable flexibility and close order – called synaspismos – where each soldier occupied only 45cm of space. This was half the space of a usual hoplite unit where each man occupied 90cm. As such, this new formation had more penetrative power and brought more spearpoints to bear on a single spot on the enemy line.

In addition to the phalanx, Philip made good use of Macedonian cavalry and light-armed troops, either mercenaries or those from allied kingdoms. This army was designed to defeat, initially, the cavalry armies of the Illyrians who threatened Macedonia from the north, and hoplite armies who threatened it from the south. Chaeronea would be the new army's greatest success.

In 356 BCE Philip took command in the Third Sacred War and used a religious pretext to further expand his influence. This was also the year in which Alexander was born to the fourth wife of the polygamous Philip, Olympias. Philip continued to expand his influence and occasionally war against rebellious conquered territories. By the time Alexander was 16, Philip had expanded Macedonian influence as far as the Dardanelles and the site of modern Istanbul, but some cities in Greece still resisted. Most notably, Thebes and Athens.

By 338 BCE, Philip had secured his northern and eastern ambitions and turned his attention southwards once more. This was not unexpected, but, as so often in the relations between Greek cities, they had descended into petty squabbling rather than uniting to face an expected assault. That Athens agreed to an alliance with Thebes and Boeotia to oppose the Macedonian threat was an unexpected turn. Most of our sources concentrate on the contribution of Athens and Thebes and do not mention any other allied cities but there do seem to have been several – some sources mention Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians and Corcyraeans – others just mention 'allies'. Yet they would play little part in the battle so their omission is, perhaps, understandable.

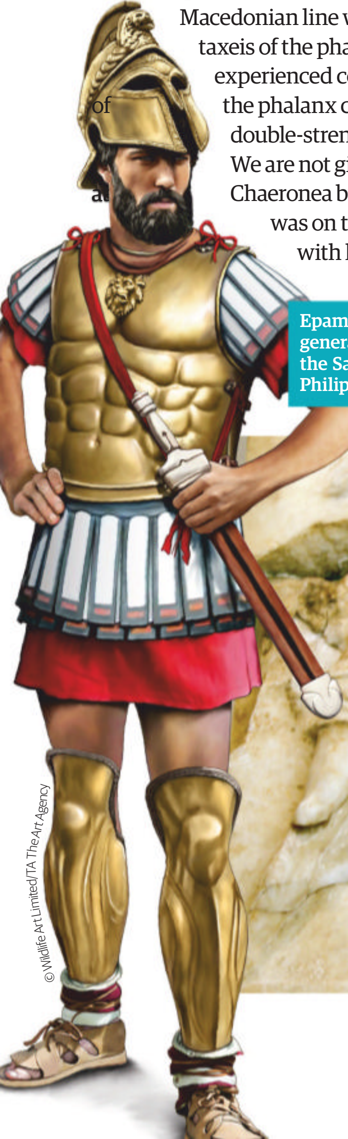
The allies agreed to block Philip's advance southwards at Chaeronea, in the valley of the Cephisus River and in Boeotian territory. Philip advanced south and met the allied army blocking his path. There are many unknowns about the battle and the precise site of the battlefield is ▶

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

still a controversy; what we do seem to know of it from literary sources does not marry with the site usually identified.

This is complicated because we have two funerary mounds – the Lion of Chaeronea to the dead members of the Theban Sacred Band to the southeast of the town and, even further east, a tumulus to the Macedonian dead. Most scholars have used these two monuments to site the battlefield. However, it is clear that the bodies of the dead were moved to these two sites. The literary accounts, especially a valuable anecdote from Polyaenus of Macedon, tells that at the start of the battle Philip withdrew his army up a hill. There is no hill where he could have done this on a battle site placed to the east of the town. There is, however, a hill that suits such a manoeuvre to the west of the town, Mount Thurion.

For the Battle of Chaeronea, we get none of the detailed deployment which we get for the subsequent battles of Alexander in sources such as Arrian, Plutarch, Curtius Rufus and even in Diodorus himself. We can use those later deployments to our advantage, however, as Macedonian deployment remained remarkably similar. And having learned so many lessons evident at Chaeronea, why would Alexander deviate from what had happened there? Especially when his subsequent battles also brought him so much success. The usual Macedonian deployment was that the centre of the Macedonian line was occupied by the six taxeis of the phalanx. Each was led by an experienced commander. To the right of the phalanx came the hypaspists, a double-strength taxis of 3,000 men. We are not given the name hypaspists at Chaeronea but we are told that Philip was on the right of the phalanx with his bodyguards – and this later unit is probably the one meant although it may have had slightly fewer men. In Alexander's later battles the Companion Cavalry were stationed on the right of the hypaspists, led by Alexander himself. At Chaeronea, however, he was stationed to the left of the phalanx but he did have the cavalry there with him. Other Macedonian allies, infantry and cavalry – especially the Thessalians – were also stationed on the left (as in Alexander's subsequent battles). We have none of this detail for Chaeronea. We are only told that Philip had 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry and that the armies deployed at dawn. We can, nonetheless, use the later deployments to give us the detail of what was likely at Chaeronea. The men of the later phalanx and hypaspists would account for almost 12,000 of the 30,000 infantry.



Epaminondas, the famed Theban general, was a former leader of the Sacred Band and a tutor to Philip during his time in Thebes

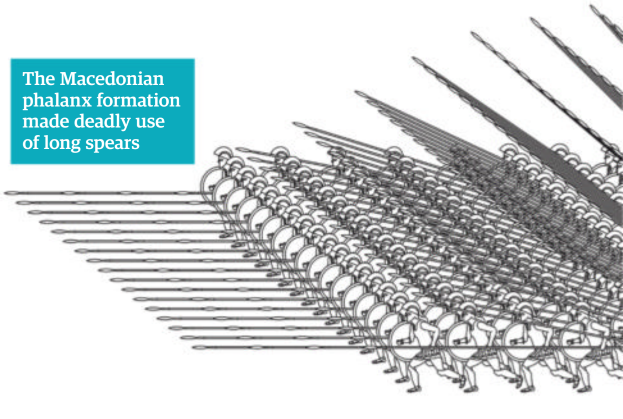
© Wildlife Art Limited/TA The Art Agency

In terms of cavalry, Alexander later had eight squadrons or ilai (singular ile) of 200-300 men, 1,600 men in total. Similar (or slightly smaller numbers) may have been deployed at Chaeronea. In his invasion of Illyria in 359/8 BCE we are told that Philip had no less than 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. The subsequent successes of Philip must have seen expansion of these numbers. The additional cavalry (up to 2,000) may have been made up of Thessalians.

On the Athenian and Theban/Boeotian side we must also use what we know of these armies from elsewhere. We are only told that more than 1,000 Athenians fell and 2,000 were captured; we are not given a specific number for the Boeotians, only that their casualties were similar. Diodorus only includes Athenians and Thebans/Boeotians at the battle opposing the Macedonians and only hints at other allies. The Athenian orator Demosthenes, however, gives us a list of allies he had gathered – Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians and Corcyraeans. These allies provided 15,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The geographer Strabo also mentions the Corinthians as allies. We might be able to suggest that the other allies provided these numbers but that the Athenians and Thebans/Boeotians provided more men – perhaps 7,500 infantry and 1,000 cavalry each. This would bring their army up to the size of the Macedonians, and perhaps one of the reasons for the alliance was to achieve this. The allies right flank rested on the River Cephisus. Other Athenian and Theban armies of the time (where we can tell) had similar numbers so it is not unreasonable to accept these numbers – it also makes the losses to Athens and Thebes approximately 40 percent of their total numbers – a devastating defeat for both cities.

Detail of the funerary monument (a loutrophoros) to Panchares – an Athenian killed by a Macedonian cavalryman at Chaeronea

Image source: wiki/Giovanni Dall'Orto



The Macedonian phalanx formation made deadly use of long spears

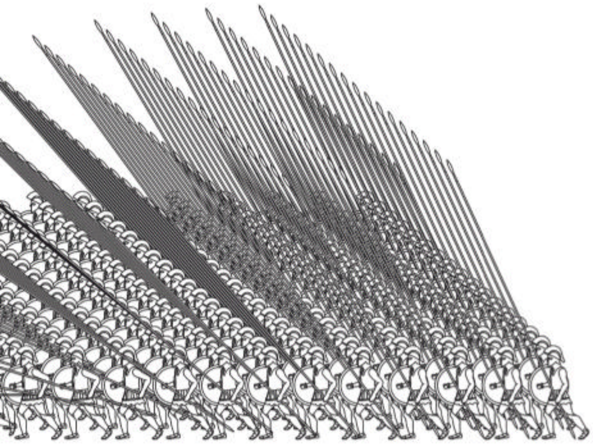
As had become standard in Theban battles, it seems the allies were drawn up in echelon, each division slightly behind that to their left. This had allowed the Thebans to concentrate their power in one spot (on the left where they had won their greatest victories) and, what is more, to concentrate their attacks on the enemy commander, usually on the enemy right – precisely where Philip was positioned. It also meant they could fight a battle with their best troops and keep less reliable soldiers away.

Since the allies seem not to have become involved in the fighting at Chaeronea, this all suggests an echelon battle order. It was probably a concession to Athens to allow them to be on the extreme left of the battle line – the spot usually taken by the Thebans. What's more, the battle was being fought in their territory, another reason they might have taken up such a position.

We are not definitively given the names of the commanders of the Athenian and Theban/Boeotian armies, but we know Theagenes commanded the Sacred Band and was therefore, presumably, the overall commander of the Theban forces. On the Athenian side, there were usually several generals, up to ten (strategoi, singular strategos). Only three are named – Lysicles, Stratocles and Chares. Lysicles was later blamed for the defeat and put to death. Stratocles and Chares fled for their lives.

The historian Justin tells us that the Athenians outnumbered the Macedonians opposite them. If the Athenians had 7,500 men this would outnumber Philip's half of the phalanx. It may also suggest either that he had fewer than 3,000 bodyguards or that the Athenians had more men; if they had the most men, ceding the position on the left to them is even more understandable. The greater line depth of the Macedonians would also mean they had a much narrower frontage than the men opposing them.

The battle began soon after dawn with the Athenians charging the Macedonians opposite them. Here, however, is where the detail of the engagement seems to really let us down – but all



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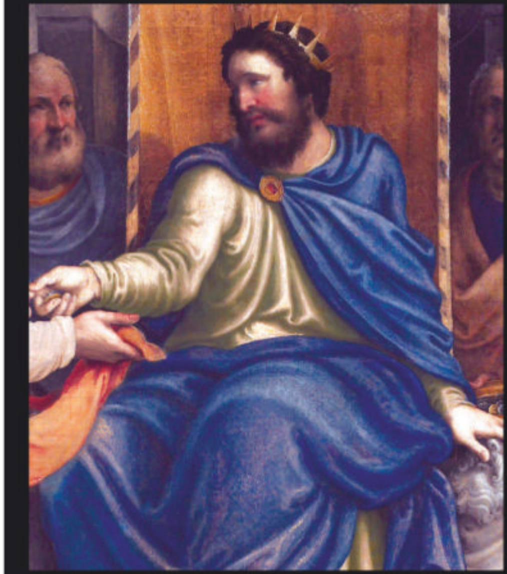
is not lost. According to Polyaenus of Macedon, after he had drawn up his line, Philip yielded and gave way, withdrawing up some high ground but keeping his phalanx together in close order. Their shields protected them from Athenian attacks. After withdrawing up the high ground, Philip halted his men then turned them to attack and routed the Athenians who had thought up to that moment that they were winning. According to the tradition, Philip is credited with the pithy observation: "The Athenians do not understand how to win." However, this anecdote is usually ignored in accounts of the battle since it does not fit with ideas about the site on which it was fought. But it does make sense of what else we know. Another anecdote tells us that Philip knew the Athenians were passionate but in poor physical condition and inexperienced in contrast to his own men, and so he deliberately prolonged the contest and therefore made the Athenians easier to defeat. This idea is repeated in other sources.

Many of our sources, however, concentrate on the conduct of Alexander at the battle because he would become Alexander the Great. These can be used in conjunction with the (oft-ignored) anecdotes above. Used together, we gain a reasonably full picture of the battle. According to Diodorus, who has nothing of Philip's withdrawal or use of high ground, Alexander faced the Thebans. The battle was hotly contested for a long time and many fell on both sides (almost useless detail - but it can be seen to correspond to Philip's withdrawal and deliberate prolonging of the fight). Then Alexander charged his cavalry at the enemy formation and was the first to break through the line. We are also told that gaps opened up in the Theban front line. Only then did Philip advance.

We may ask what caused Alexander to charge all of a sudden and we can observe that cavalry did not usually charge undisrupted heavy infantry formations - to do so usually spelled disaster. Finally, what were the gaps and what caused them? The answers to these questions come in Polyaenus' anecdote. As the Athenians advanced, the Thebans were forced to keep their left flank in touch with the right flank of the advancing Athenians (not helped if that advance was impetuous). So too was the left portion of the Macedonian phalanx required to keep in touch with the withdrawing part on the right; this, however, was one of the aspects of Philip's reforms - the Macedonian phalanx was designed to be easily able to adapt to such a battlefield situation. ▶

MACEDON



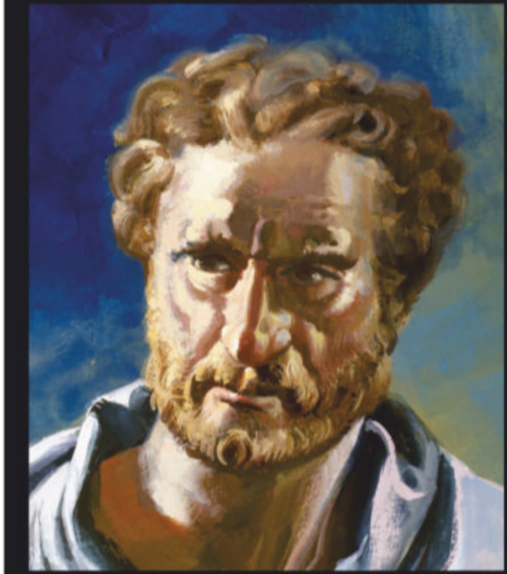
PHILIP II

This battle brought to a close Philip's conquest of ancient Greece, giving him a crushing victory over Athens and Thebes. And it gave birth to the League of Corinth, or Hellenic League. It also set him up for the next stage of his campaigns, which he intended to direct at the Achaemenid Empire. However, Philip would be assassinated, leaving this task to his son.

ALEXANDER III

Best known as Alexander the Great, the son of Philip II was 18 years old when this battle took place and was given the responsibility of commanding the left wing of the Macedonian Army. Plutarch credits him with breaking through the Sacred Band troops of Thebes, their elite warriors. He would take on his father's throne and mission to conquer Persia.

ATHENS & THEBES



DEMOSTHENES

While he had been part of the negotiations for the Peace of Philocrates that had ended conflict between Athens and Macedon in 346 BCE, Demosthenes feared the influence of Philip in the region and was one of the leaders of the movement against him that followed. He fought as a hoplite in the battle, but would ultimately outlive Philip and Alexander (by a year).

CHARES OF ATHENS

While Demosthenes was the political force behind the coalition of Thebes and Athens, Chares was one of the Athenian generals (along with Lysicles) to lead their armies into battle. Chares was not punished for the disastrous outcome of the battle, avoiding execution. Details are thin after this, although he did greet Alexander on his way to Troy around 334 BCE.

All images: © Getty Images unless stated

We can therefore see Philip's withdrawal not only as a way of prolonging the battle and exhausting the Athenians but of also deliberately weakening the allied line – causing gaps to occur where the Thebans struggled to stay in formation and in touch with the advancing Athenians. If Alexander charged into those gaps, that may have been the signal to Philip to halt his withdrawal and then counter-charge, downhill, towards the Athenians, catching them by surprise and, with a disrupted enemy line, ensure the defeat of the Athenians and Thebans. The other allies, seeing this, then fled from the battlefield having never come into contact with the enemy.

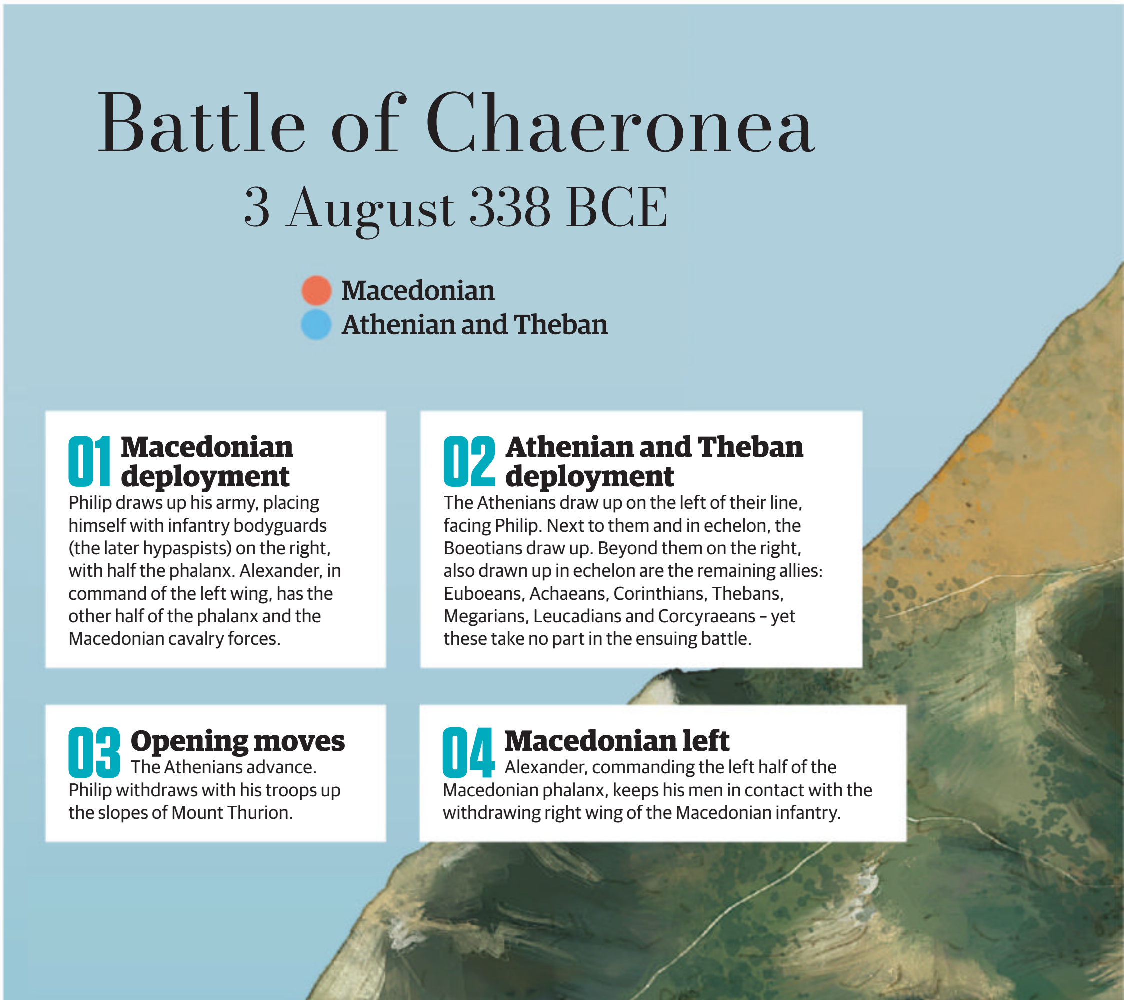
When Alexander broke through the enemy line, the Thebans, soon followed by the remainder of the allied army, gave way and fled. The actions of Philip are painted as competing with Alexander for the glory of the victory, but it seems clear that both of them combined in a deliberate plan to defeat the Athenians and Thebans.

The elite unit of the Theban army, the Sacred Band, has a special part to play in the history of the battle. Consisting of 300 elite hoplites equipped and housed at state expense and highly trained, they died to a man facing Alexander. Shown where they fell, Philip is said to have wept at such a loss of brave men. The Lion was later erected over them as a funerary monument – when excavated it revealed 254 skeletons. The bodies were, however, moved into that position. So too were the Macedonian dead moved to the site of the tumulus raised over them, perhaps the extent of Macedonian pursuit.

Battle of Chaeronea

3 August 338 BCE

● Macedonian
● Athenian and Theban



01 Macedonian deployment

Philip draws up his army, placing himself with infantry bodyguards (the later hypaspists) on the right, with half the phalanx. Alexander, in command of the left wing, has the other half of the phalanx and the Macedonian cavalry forces.

02 Athenian and Theban deployment

The Athenians draw up on the left of their line, facing Philip. Next to them and in echelon, the Boeotians draw up. Beyond them on the right, also drawn up in echelon are the remaining allies: Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians and Corcyraeans – yet these take no part in the ensuing battle.

03 Opening moves

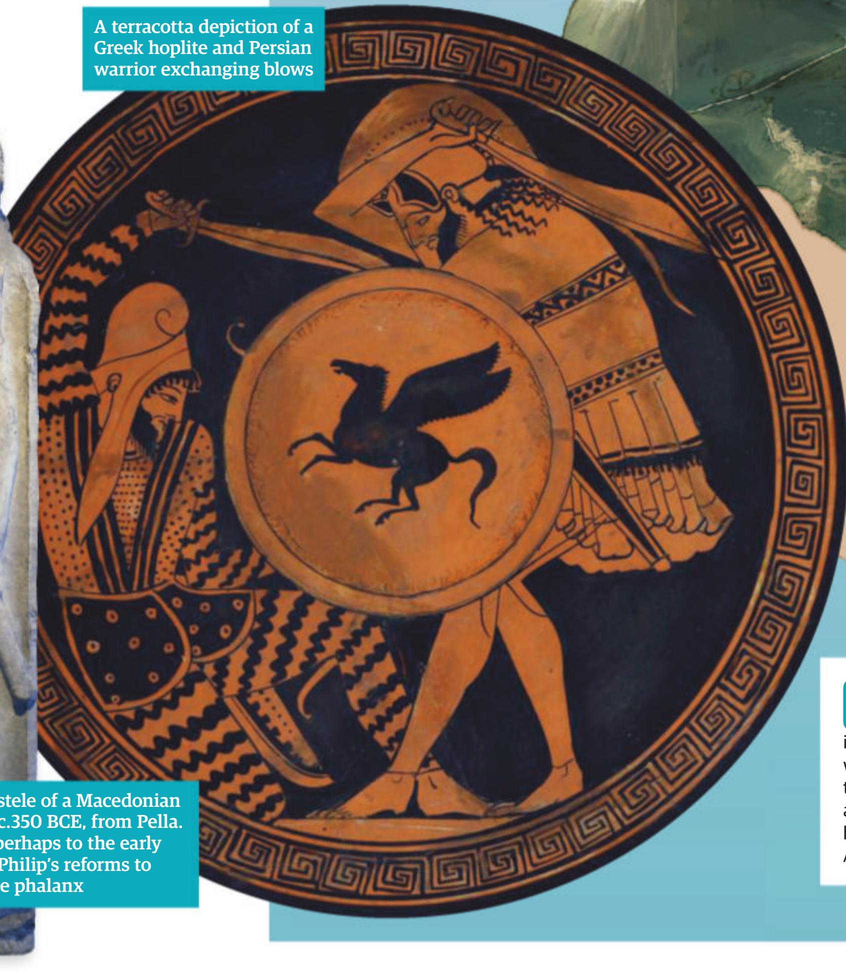
The Athenians advance. Philip withdraws with his troops up the slopes of Mount Thurion.

04 Macedonian left

Alexander, commanding the left half of the Macedonian phalanx, keeps his men in contact with the withdrawing right wing of the Macedonian infantry.

05 Charging the Athenians

In the Athenian advance the Thebans try to stay in contact with them but their line becomes stretched and weakened. Simultaneously, Alexander, leading his half of the phalanx and the Macedonian cavalry charges at this gap and breaks through, causing panic. At the same time, Philip halts his withdrawal and charges downhill into the pursuing Athenians, who are pushed back and routed.

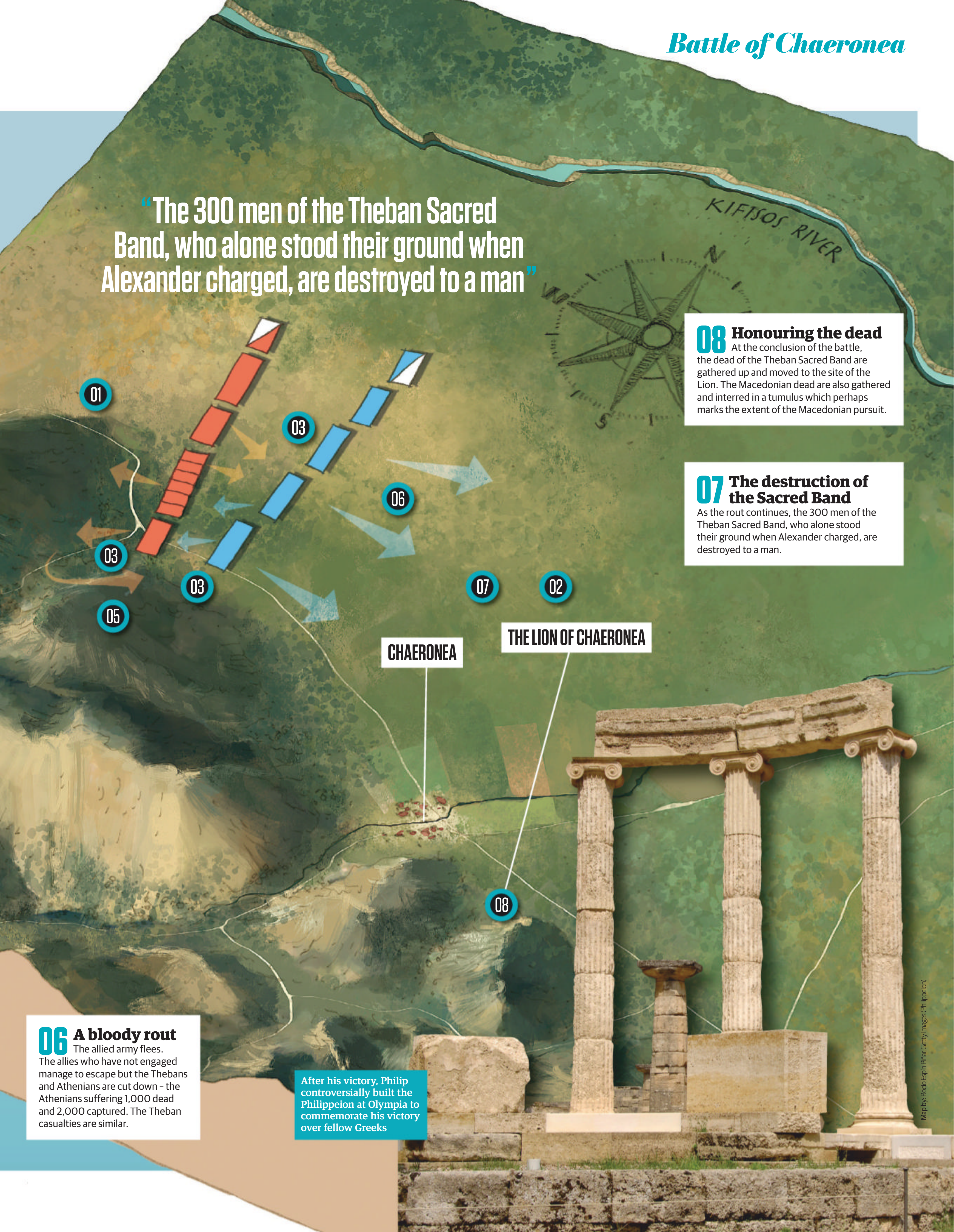


A terracotta depiction of a Greek hoplite and Persian warrior exchanging blows

Funeral stele of a Macedonian warrior, c.350 BCE, from Pella. It dates perhaps to the early years of Philip's reforms to create the phalanx

© Getty Images x2

> “The 300 men of the Theban Sacred Band, who alone stood their ground when Alexander charged, are destroyed to a man”



08 Honouring the dead

At the conclusion of the battle, the dead of the Theban Sacred Band are gathered up and moved to the site of the Lion. The Macedonian dead are also gathered and interred in a tumulus which perhaps marks the extent of the Macedonian pursuit.

07 The destruction of the Sacred Band

As the rout continues, the 300 men of the Theban Sacred Band, who alone stood their ground when Alexander charged, are destroyed to a man.

06 A bloody rout

The allied army flees. The allies who have not engaged manage to escape but the Thebans and Athenians are cut down – the Athenians suffering 1,000 dead and 2,000 captured. The Theban casualties are similar.

After his victory, Philip controversially built the Philippeion at Olympia to commemorate his victory over fellow Greeks

Map by: Rocio Espin Pinar; Getty Images (Philippeion)

What If...

MARILYN MONROE HAD LIVED?

After defeating her darkest demons, what could the world expect from the iconic star in later years?

Interview by **David J Williamson**

INTERVIEW WITH

© Laura Saxby

LAURA SAXBY

Laura is a dedicated fan of Marilyn Monroe and founder of **ourmarilynmonroe.com.** The site offers a rich mix of insights, rare photos and analyses, celebrating Marilyn's timeless legacy. It's a fitting tribute to a legendary icon, keeping Marilyn's spirit alive for new generations to admire.

In 1962, the world was stunned by the tragic death of Marilyn Monroe, a symbol of beauty and fame, who passed away at just 36. Her untimely demise has been attributed to her reliance on prescription drugs, a conclusion drawn from scientific analysis, though whether it was intentional or accidental remains a mystery. Over the years, her passing has captivated theorists and filled numerous books. Some biographers, like Norman Mailer, have conceded that their works and murder theories were financially motivated and held no merit. However, no matter how Marilyn died, it's intriguing to ponder an alternative scenario: what if she had been rescued that fateful night? What different path might her life have taken?

If Marilyn's career had continued, what would it have looked like and for how long? For example, could she have won an Oscar?

Marilyn's film career might have evolved significantly had she lived longer. Given her talent, passion and the changing nature of Hollywood roles for women, it's quite possible she would have transitioned into more complex and dramatic roles as per her long-term goals, which might have led her to critical acclaim and potentially an Oscar. Her comedic prowess was certainly undeniable, and she had shown depth in films like *The Misfits*, suggesting a promising trajectory. In 1955, Marilyn, in collaboration with photographer Milton Greene, established Marilyn Monroe Productions. She compiled a list of directors she aspired to work with, notable names including Charlie Chaplin and Alfred Hitchcock. This initiative aimed to grant her greater authority over her acting roles and film projects. However, despite the eventual dissolution of this production company, Marilyn explored the idea of founding a new one alongside her acting coach, Lee Strasberg, and the renowned actor Marlon Brando. In a poignant letter to Strasberg penned in 1961, Marilyn expressed that resuming her work was her "only trustworthy hope" to aid in overcoming her mental health and emotional stability challenges.

The film industry was also shifting towards a New Hollywood era, which could have provided her with opportunities to work with up-and-coming as well as established directors and on more avant-garde projects, further diversifying Marilyn's portfolio and extending her career possibly into the late 20th century.

If the business had become challenging due to [film studio] Fox's financial difficulties, Marilyn might have contemplated switching studios or exploring opportunities in theatre, television or even radio. Throughout her career, she expressed a keen interest in theatrical performances, yet she rarely seized such opportunities. In 1952, she said: "I'd like to do roles like Julie in *Bury the Dead*, Gretchen in *Faust* and Teresa in *Cradle Song*. I don't want to be a comedienne forever." This reluctance could have stemmed from her fear of inadequacy. However, had she lived longer, the shifts in her life might have diminished these fears, encouraging her to embrace the opportunities presented to her. ▶

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Main image source: © Sara Biddle/Getty Images

RIGHT *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* was a platform for Marilyn's singing talent

THE PAST

1946

INTO THE SPOTLIGHT

Born Norma Jeane Mortenson on 1 June 1926, her childhood is full of upheaval with a mother in and out of mental institutions. After several years in an orphanage and foster homes she marries a neighbour, James Dougherty. She is 16. At 18 she is working a factory assembly line for war work and is photographed for a promotional feature. This catches the eye of modelling agencies and in 1946 she signs a contract with 20th Century Fox. Her name is changed to Marilyn Monroe and her auburn hair is dyed blonde. Later the same year she is divorced, and the following year her contract is terminated.

1948-59

RISING TO THE TOP

After a spell with Columbia Pictures Marilyn lands small roles in *Asphalt Jungle* and *All About Eve*. In 1949 she courts controversy by posing nude for the *Golden Dreams* calendar. This was later used as part of the launch for Hugh Hefner's new magazine *Playboy*. Marilyn becomes its first centrefold in 1953. Her career now moves into another gear, with a breakthrough performance in *Niagara*, then *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and the iconic song *Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend*. With a string of hit films, Marilyn gets the acclaim of the industry in 1960 with a Golden Globe for Best Actress in *Some Like It Hot*.

1960-62

EPILOGUE

Her third husband, Arthur Miller, writes the script to *The Misfits* as a present for Marilyn. The following year they are divorced. In 1962 she is voted World Film Favourite at the Golden Globes, and in April starts shooting her last movie, *Something's Got to Give*. The title would prove to be somewhat prophetic. In May she appears in a figure-hugging sequined dress to sing *Happy Birthday* for JFK. On 5 August 1962, Marilyn is found dead of an apparent barbiturate overdose at her Brentwood home. The power of Marilyn Monroe as an icon of visual imagery – from the Andy Warhol *Diptych* to the mesmerising racy energy of the famous skirt-blowing scene from the *Seven Year Itch* – will never fade. Her image will endure, frozen in time.

ABOVE Marilyn's acting range was often underestimated

What would her personal life have looked like – relationships/marriage/children? Would she have been part of a showbiz couple, and with whom?

Marilyn's personal life was as much a subject of fascination to fans and the media as her screen presence. However, in 1962, Marilyn was primarily concentrating on her future as an artist, as well as on her personal growth, rather than pursuing relationships. This was despite the prevalent rumours of remarriage to Joe DiMaggio.

During this period, Marilyn and Joe were frequently seen together, yet both they and their close associates consistently denied any romantic resurgence in their relationship. Following her separation from Arthur Miller, Marilyn's primary focus was on her career and addressing her health challenges. These included recovering from gall bladder surgery, managing chronic sinusitis and dealing with the psychological impact of a wrongful institutionalisation, which had significantly eroded her trust. Joe, still harbouring deep affection for Marilyn, offered her a grounding presence and emotional support without pressuring her to rekindle their past romance. She said to her masseuse, Ralph Roberts in January 1961: "Each of us is very happy to be back together. Each of us feels we should not rush into anything serious… If each of us wants to see another person, we should do so." During this time, Marilyn briefly and casually dated Frank Sinatra and was accompanied to the Golden Globes by José Bolaños, a prominent Mexican director.

Concerning having children, it would have been challenging for her due to her fertility issues, but she had expressed interest in adoption in 1962. She said: "I used to feel [that] for every child I had, I would adopt another, but I don't think a single person should adopt children. There's no ma or pa there."

Her move back to Los Angeles, her new home, and settling down in Brentwood made her feel settled. As she stated to George Barris: "I'm 36 years old, I'm just getting started!"

Could scandal around JFK have held her back, or even damaged his presidency? Could she have married a Kennedy?

The relationship between Marilyn and JFK has been a topic of much debate and rumour, one which has little basis in fact. Before meeting JFK in person, she stated to Ralph Roberts: "In what I see, he doesn't have an appeal to me."

Kennedy was well known for his extramarital affairs (including with members of his own staff) and at the most he had a one-night stand with Marilyn at Bing Crosby's Palm Springs home. It's speculated this is where Kennedy requested she perform at his birthday gala in May 1962.

Had this rendezvous been made public at the time, it's unlikely there would have been any serious implications for either her career or his presidency, despite the era's moral expectations.

As for Robert Kennedy, which is often speculated upon, Marilyn had been outspoken about the rumours, stating in July 1962 "you know it isn't true". Marilyn had also said to her friend, Ralph Roberts, that she admired and respected Bobby but he wasn't her type.

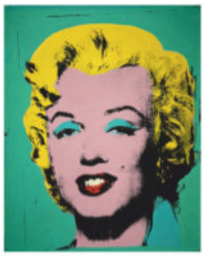
The widespread rumours around her relations with the Kennedys hadn't really started until a decade after she died. Her connections with the Kennedy brothers are tenuous. Their timelines show few (mostly public) events where they would've even been in the same room.

As for marriage, it seems incredibly unlikely as Marilyn had stated to her close friends that her one-night stand with John F Kennedy in Palm Springs was nothing serious. She certainly wasn't interested in a committed relationship at that time. Marilyn said to George Barris in 1962, just weeks before her death: "I'm just mad about men. If only there was someone special – of course I would like to be in love. But for marriage again? It hasn't entered my mind since my last one [to Arthur Miller]."

What sort of impact would JFK's assassination (and later RFK's) have had on her?

The assassinations of JFK and RFK were national traumas that affected the entire country, and for someone who might have been personally connected, the impact would have been profound. Marilyn was an acquaintance, although not particularly close to them, however she was close to their sister, Patricia Kennedy Lawford.

When she spoke about John and Robert Kennedy with friends, the conversations were predominantly centred around their political ideologies. In a letter addressed to both Arthur Miller's son, Bobby Miller, and his father, Isidore Miller, she detailed her initial encounter with Bobby Kennedy in early February 1962. Marilyn's mention of her Brentwood home, acquired in February 1962, not 1961, serves as a key point of reference for an accurate timeline.



ABOVE Andy Warhol's pop art has ensured Marilyn's image lives on

BELOW This iconic scene from *The Seven Year Itch* enraged Joe DiMaggio

The letter reads: "Oh, Bobby, guess what: I had dinner last night with the Attorney-General of the United States, Robert Kennedy, and I asked him what his department was going to do about Civil Rights and some other issues. He's very intelligent, and besides all that, he's got a terrific sense of humour. I think you would like him. Anyway, I had to go to this dinner last night as he was the guest of honour and when they asked him who he wanted to meet, he wanted to meet me. So, I went to the dinner, and I sat next to him, and he isn't a bad dancer either."

Newspaper reports and press photos show Robert Kennedy boarding a flight with his wife Ethel on 1 February 1962, as they were to embark on a goodwill tour with the dinner in Los Angeles being held in his honour.

How would she face the challenges of growing older? How could she have had more control over her private life and public image?

As Marilyn aged, she would probably have had to deal with Hollywood's well-documented ageism, especially for actresses. However, she could have used her intellect and business acumen – seen in her founding of a production company – to take control of her career choices and image, perhaps moving into roles behind the camera as a director or producer. Controlling her narrative might have meant stepping back from the media frenzy, choosing privacy over publicity, and advocating for her professional interests.

Regarding her appearance, Marilyn once revealed: "I want to grow old without facelifts. I want to be loyal to the face that I've made." Additionally, she explained to George Barris that: "Women as they grow older should take heart. They've gained wisdom. They're really silly when they're 20."

Could she have become involved in activism? Fighting addiction, abuse, HIV/AIDS, world poverty, becoming a UN Ambassador, for example?

Marilyn's own struggles with addiction (of barbiturates) and mental health issues could have made her a powerful advocate for those causes. As celebrities of her era, like Elizabeth Taylor, began to engage with activism, Marilyn might have followed suit. Her fame could have brought significant attention to the fight against HIV/AIDS, or other humanitarian efforts. It's entirely possible that her empathy, borne of personal struggle, would have led her to lend her voice to encourage change on a global scale. ○

THE POSSIBILITY

1962 ONWARDS

WISDOM AND STYLE

For many other 'starlets' of the time, such as Elizabeth Taylor, Barbara Stanwyck, and Joan Collins, their willingness to adapt to other roles and take their talent beyond mere beauty and spectacle opened up a new range of opportunities. Marilyn was deeply aware of how such wisdom comes with time, and there is no reason why she would not have been able to carve out a new career path for herself as a more mature, strong female character. Television, as it grew during the 1960s into a global entertainment phenomenon, could have been the platform she needed to achieve that goal, and her ability for comedy as well as tragedy would have generated many opportunities.

1970 ONWARDS

AND THE OSCAR GOES TO…

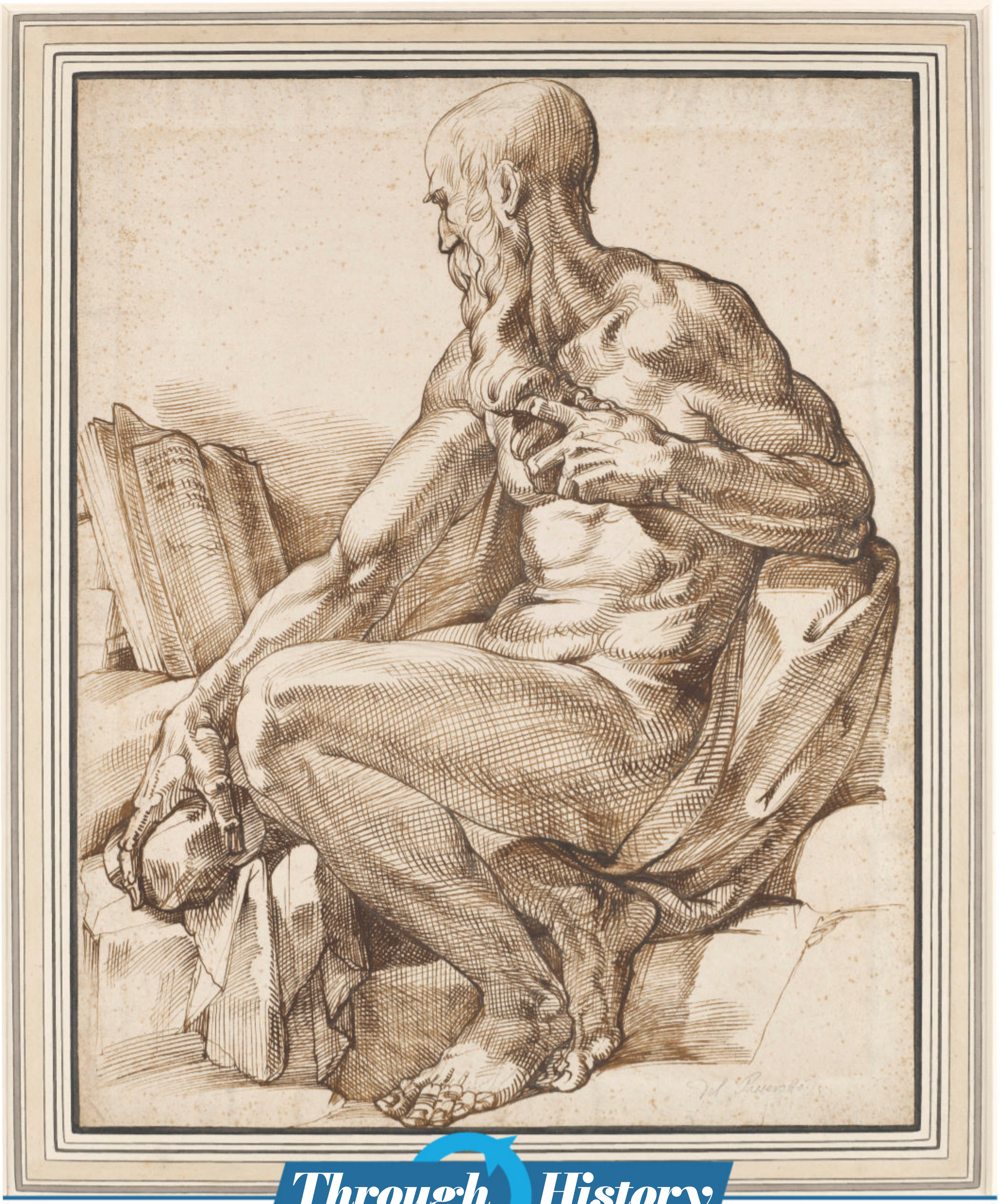
Throughout her career, and even up to the present day, opinions on Marilyn's talent as an actress divide the critics. What cannot be ignored is that she won well-deserved accolades from the film industry, both for serious performances and her comedic roles. The people loved her, and as a box office draw, film producers would still believe that they had a bankable asset in an older Marilyn. Were her career to have progressed into the 1960s, 1970s and beyond, there is no reason to rule out that she would have eventually scooped an Academy Award.

1980 ONWARDS

EMPATHY BORNE OUT OF EXPERIENCE

With such a traumatic upbringing, and later struggles with her mental health and prescription drugs, it is very possible that an older, wiser and more mature Marilyn would have used the depth of her own experiences to give encouragement, support and hope to others through charitable means. It could be an existing charity, or by the creation of her own foundation. But whatever the cause she chose to support – children with unstable family backgrounds, mental health, drug addiction – she would be much more than just another star with a cause; she would be a voice of authority who bears the scars, and who found the strength to come through the dark days of 1962 to give even more to the world than she already had.

All images: © Alamy



Through History

DRAWING THE RENAISSANCE

A new exhibition from the Royal Collection Trust displays Italian illustrations and studies

SAINTLY FIGURE

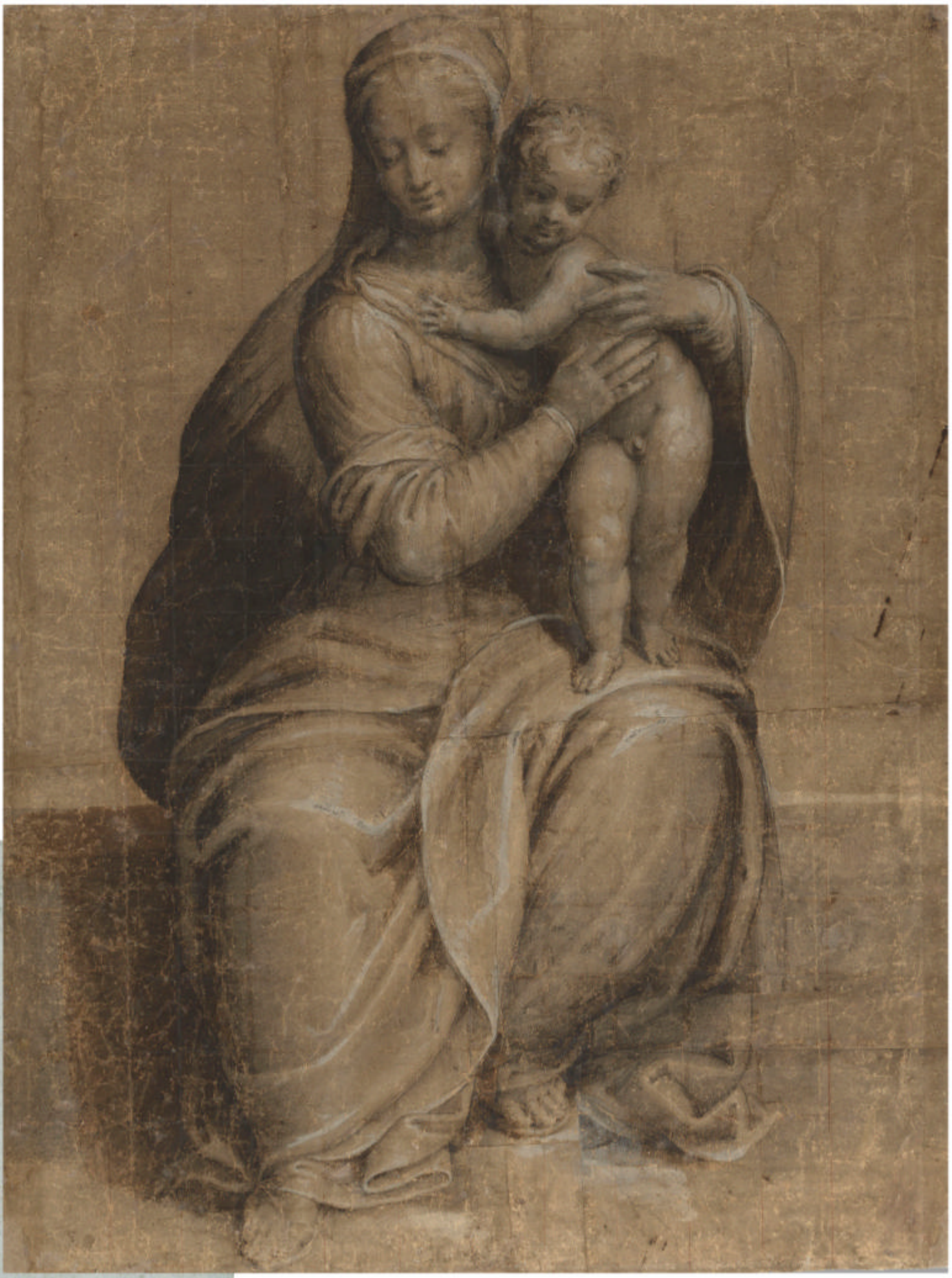
◀ This drawing of Christian priest and theologian St Jerome was completed by the artist Bartolomeo Passarotti in around 1580. Passarotti, originally from Bologna, was known for his expressive drawings made in ink.

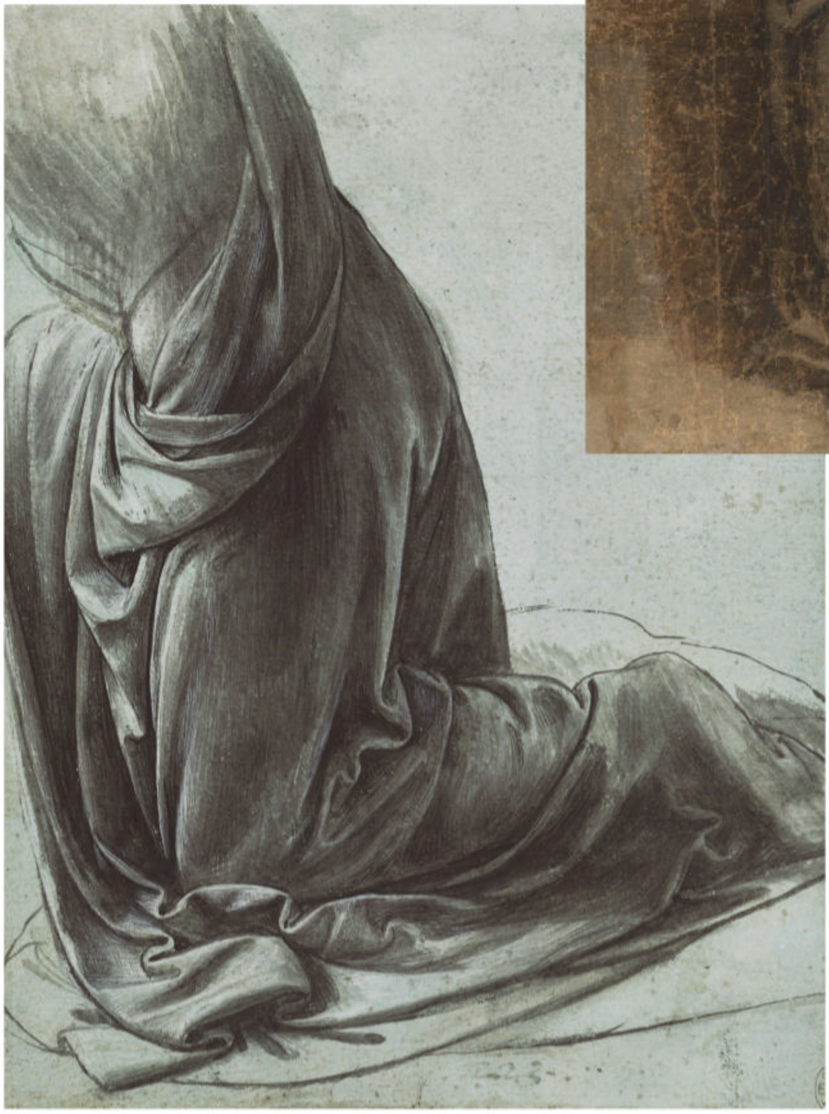
MATERNAL MAGIC

▶ Bernardino Campi drew *The Virgin and Child* between 1570 and 1580. The large work, which was intended to serve as a transfer of the illustration onto a painting, is being exhibited for the first time.

TOUCHED BY GENIUS

▼ This ink study for Leonardo da Vinci's work *The Virgin of the Rocks* is special in that it not only demonstrates his skill as an artist in the detail of the cloth depicted, but it also features a partial fingerprint of Da Vinci in the corner of the page.





The Renaissance period is known for its stunning artwork. Examples of paintings, sculpture and architecture spring to mind when we think of this era, but what about drawing? Many Renaissance artists made preparatory sketches or studies before embarking on larger artistic projects. Some even used drawing as a medium in its own right. Now, around 160 works of Renaissance drawing from the Royal Collection Trust are being exhibited at Buckingham Palace, many of which are being displayed to the public for the very first time.

The exhibition, called Drawing the Italian Renaissance, brings together significant works by more than 80 artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian, along with other lesser-known Renaissance artists. From the secular to the spiritual to the sublime, an array of subjects are explored within these works.

Martin Clayton, curator of the exhibition, says: "The Italian Renaissance would have been impossible without drawing – it was central to every stage of the creative process. These drawings cannot be on permanent display for conservation reasons, so the exhibition is a unique opportunity to see such a wide range of drawings up-close and gain an insight into the minds of these great Italian Renaissance artists." ○

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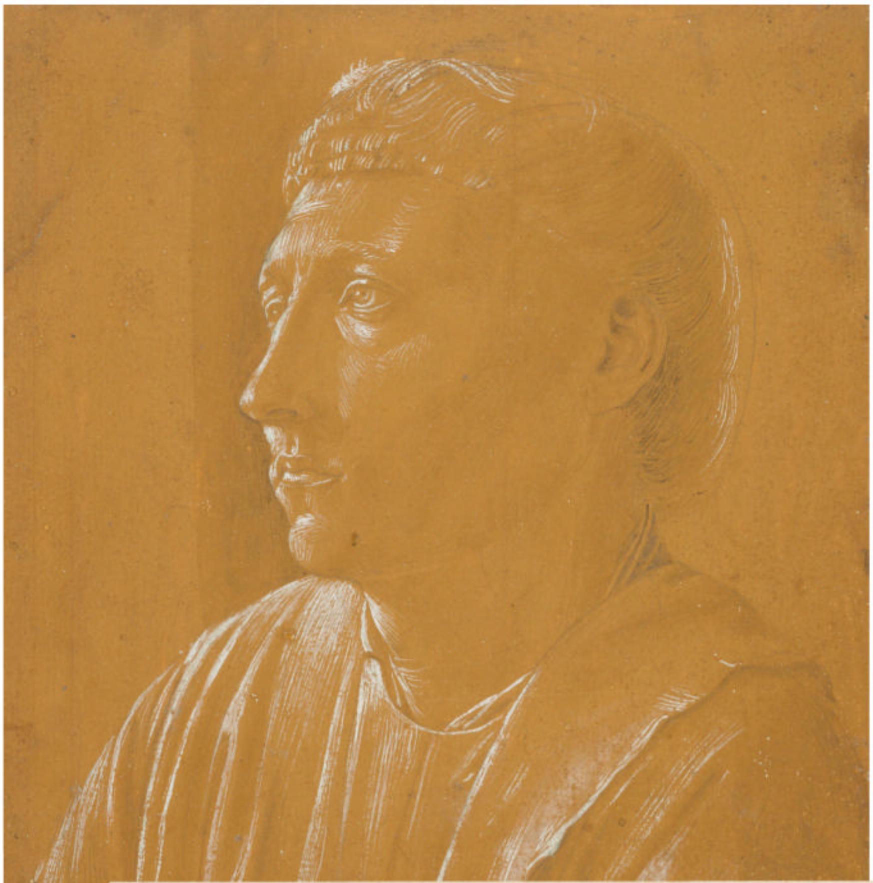


THE VATICAN OR BUST

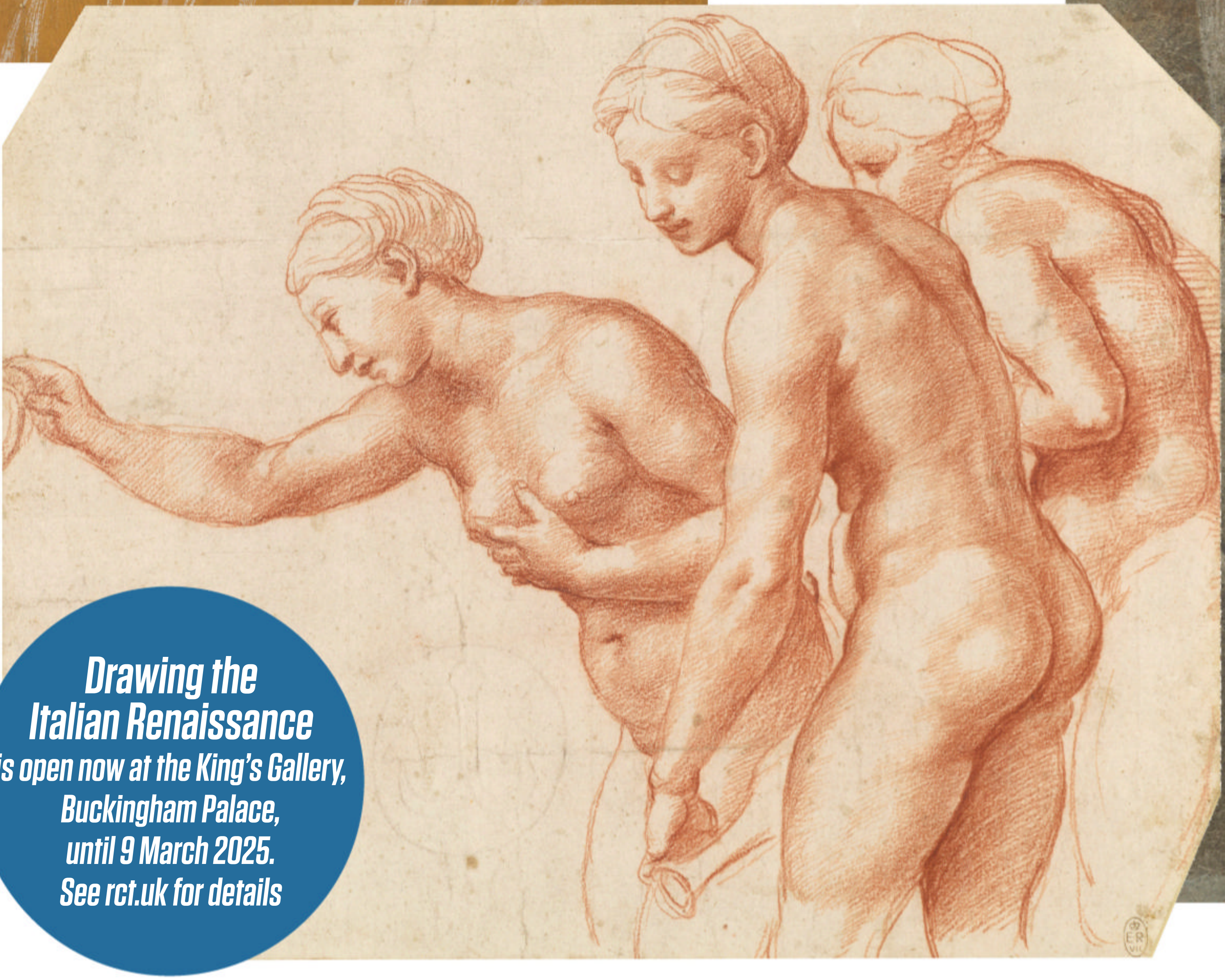
◀ Drawn by the artist Fra Angelico between 1447 and 1450, this drawing of a bust of a cleric is believed to have been completed in preparation for the artist's frescos in the chapel of Pope Nicolas V at the Vatican.

FINISHED ARTICLE

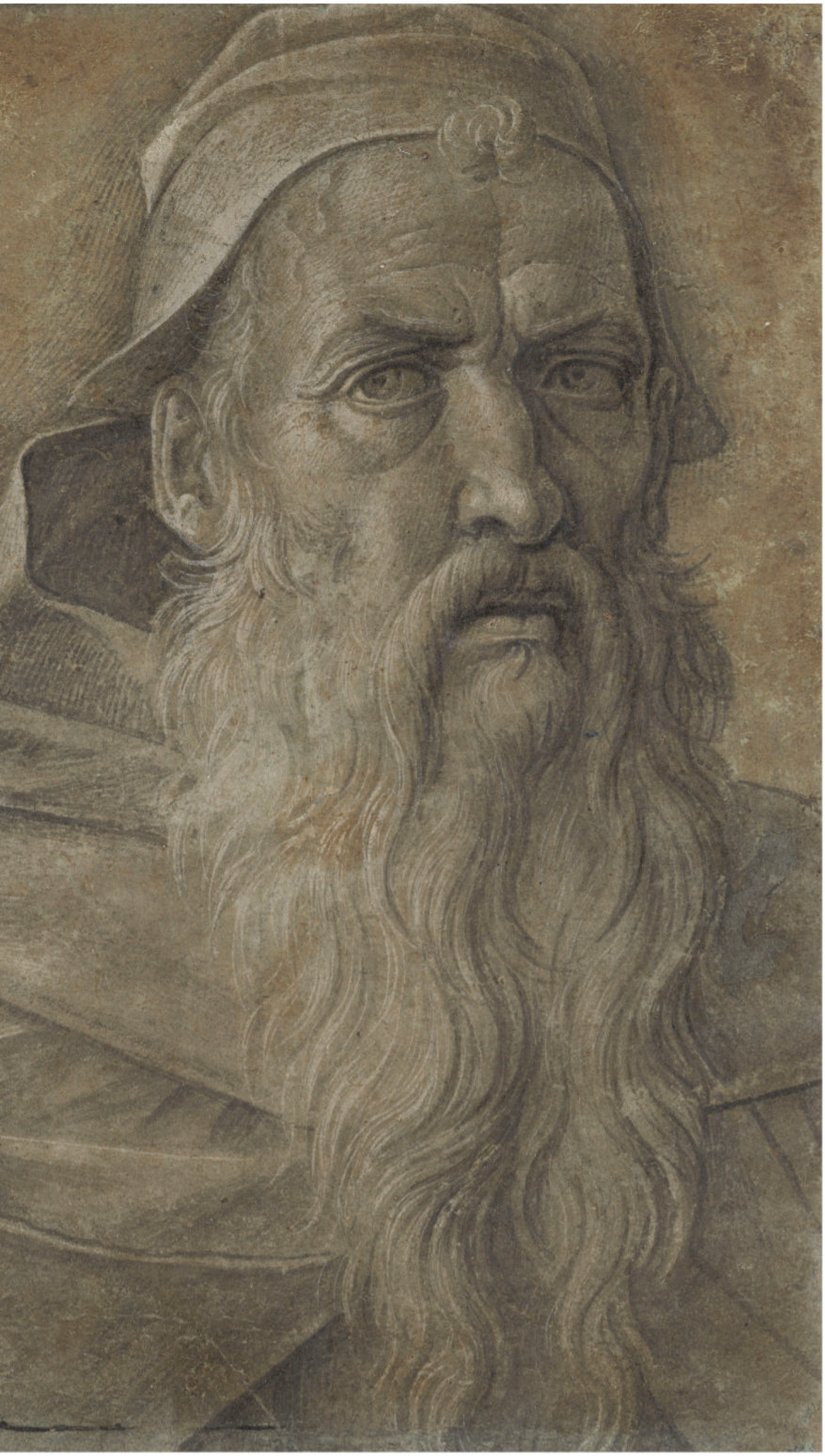
▶ Unlike many of the preliminary sketches on display, this drawing entitled *The Head of an Old Man*, made between 1460 and 1470 by the artist Giovanni Bellini, is a completed work of art in itself. Holes in the edges of the piece demonstrate that it was once framed and hung.

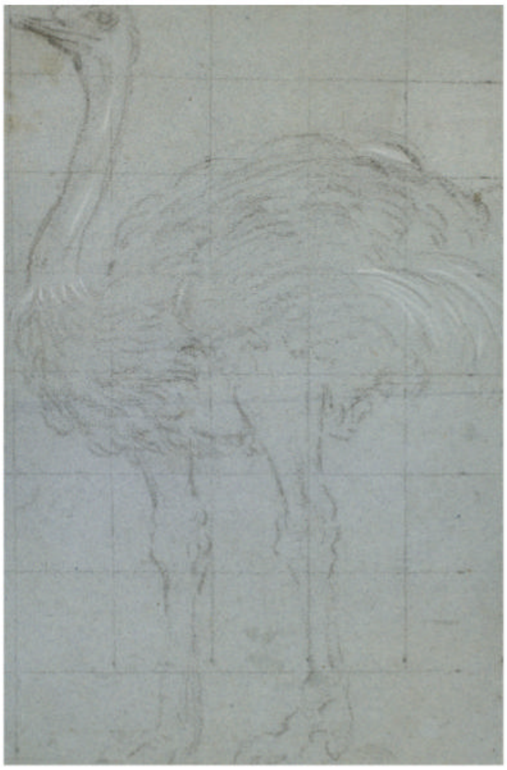
THREE'S A CROWD

▼ Made for the fresco entitled the *Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina in Rome, this chalk drawing by Raphael depicts one model in three different poses. He was one of only a few Renaissance artists to use nude female models.



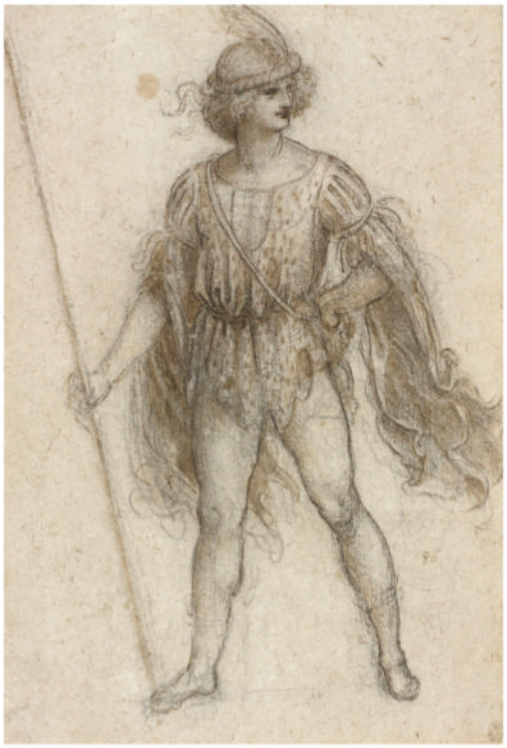
Drawing the Italian Renaissance is open now at the King's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, until 9 March 2025. See rct.uk for details





FEATHERED FRIEND

▲ Dating from around 1550, this chalk study of an ostrich, attributed to Titian, showcases the efforts of Renaissance artists to master realism. Given the lifelike nature of the drawing, it's likely that Titian had actually seen an ostrich in the flesh, one which may have been imported via his home city of Venice.



DRESSED TO THRILL

▲ This drawing, known as *A Costume Study for a Masque*, showcases Leonardo da Vinci's skill not just as a painter but also as a costume designer. Fanciful outfits such as this one were created by Da Vinci for celebrations held by King Francis I of France.

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REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

© BFA/Aidan Monaghan/Paramount Pictures/Alamy

GLADIATOR II

Scott offers up a new swords and sandals spectacle for the mob

Certificate: 15 **Creator:** Ridley Scott **Cast:** Paul Mescal, Denzel Washington, Pedro Pascal **Released:** Out now

Avoiding major spoilers for this film as best we can, we begin 16 years after the events of *Gladiator* (2000) and follow Hanno (Mescal), a young commander of Numidia who sees his wife killed in battle against the Romans. Having been taken as a prisoner of war, he is sold into slavery. He seeks revenge on the Roman commander of that battle, General Acacius (Pascal), the husband of returning character Lucilla (Connie Nielsen), both of whom are growing uncomfortable with the bloodlust of dual emperors Geta (Joseph Quinn) and Caracalla (Fred Hechinger). Working his way up behind them all is gladiator owner Macrinus (Washington) who buys Hanno and sets his sights on greater power.

But what of the action? There's certainly no shortage with an opening siege scene, a quick move into the arena to get things moving and then several massive set pieces in the Colosseum, including one with a flooded arena and sharks. There's something lacking, however. Perhaps it's the sense of threat or a more obvious reliance on digital effects. The original *Gladiator* was a pioneer of VFX for its era, but this film, while visually impressive at times, can claim no such accolade.

Gladiator II faces some unfair challenges, in some respects. For a start, it has to live up to the original, as we've just implied. There's an attempt to explore some more complex narratives, but it lacks depth. In the previous film, characters hid things from each other, but we as an audience often knew everything. In this movie, information is teased out slowly and it ends up being quite unsatisfying.

Mescal offers us a fine central performance as Hanno. He's a good actor who brings plenty of physicality and emotional weight to the role, but he's let down by the script that doesn't give him anything close to the showstopping lines that Crowe enjoyed in the previous chapter. A repeated line of "where we are, death is not" may be quoting Epicurus and speak to Hanno's educated background, but it lacks the punch of "At my signal, unleash hell." It's a problem others struggle to overcome as well.

The one actor who seems to rise above the script is Washington, who proves to be the truly captivating piece of this film. Macrinus' plot and his manipulation to the top of the Roman tree are fascinating, but the performance we get to witness is a treat. Washington is clearly relishing this opportunity to ham it up in an ancient epic and he runs away with every scene he is in. Scott does seem to enjoy selecting Washington for these sorts of roles, as evidenced by a previous collaboration in *American Gangster* (also starring Russell Crowe), which we would highly recommend.

Gladiator II is a tougher recommendation. It certainly offers action and bombast and fills a big screen well, but it lacks the depth of meaning and resonance of its forebear. It leans heavily on imagery and references to the first film and offers little originality. ***JG***

★★★☆☆

Reviews by
Jonathan Gordon, Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

A VERY BRITISH CULT:
ROGUE PRIESTS AND THE ABODE OF LOVE

How a sinister Victorian sect operated deep in the heart of rural Somerset

Author: Stuart Flinders **Publisher:** Icon Books **Price:** £20 **Released:** Out now

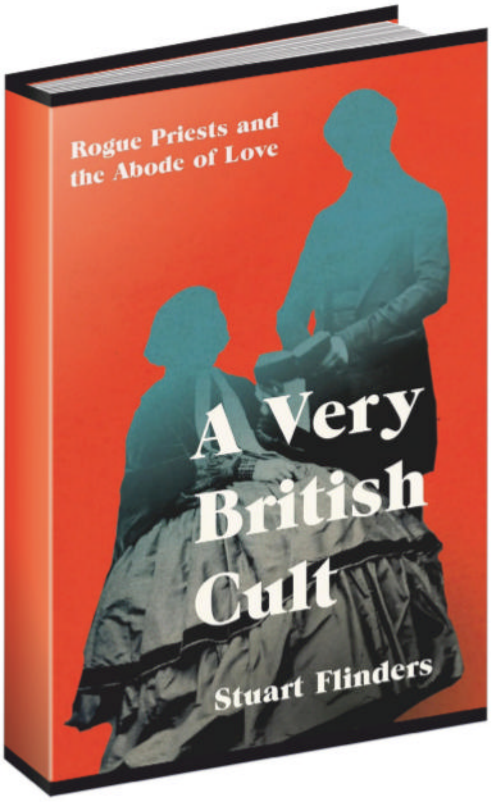
In some respects, it's easy to view cults as a relatively modern phenomenon. Such groups only began to be studied academically in the 1930s and the word slowly developed negative connotations. Now, the term conjures up images of boogeymen such as Jim Jones, his eyes obscured by dark glasses, or of Charles Manson, with his long hair and shaggy beard. But as any historian knows, charismatic individuals seeking to control others is hardly a new occurrence.

Stuart Flinders new book, *A Very British Cult: Rogue Priests and the Abode of Love*, tells the story of one group that began in Britain in the 1850s and continued until the mid-20th century. Started by the enigmatic Henry James Prince, who purportedly declared himself to be the reincarnation of Jesus Christ, they purchased a mansion in rural Somerset that became known as Agapemone – 'The Abode of Love'.

The story Flinders relates is indeed a tragic one. The early chapters of the book centre on the Nottidge sisters, and the steps Prince took to exert his will over these women and secure their fortune seemed to know no bounds. His successor, John Hugh Smyth-Piggot, had likewise been an Anglican priest and ensured that life at Agapemone continued for several decades.

A Very British Cult is a dramatic story, filled with messiahs, scandal and unwanted guests beaten to within an inch of their life with hockey sticks (which happened more times than you'd suspect). Flinders' tale of a sinister cult thriving in the heart of rural Somerset will intrigue and disturb lovers of dark history. ***CM***

★★★★☆



HER SECRET SERVICE

The forgotten women of a shadowy world are given their place in history

Author: Claire Hubbard-Hall **Publisher:** W&N
Price: £25 **Released:** Out now

Her Secret Service
The Forgotten Women of British Intelligence
Claire Hubbard-Hall

We've had a good selection of recent books looking to highlight and elevate the role of women in British Intelligence. Digging through the archives and interviews, it's been a challenge for many authors to flesh out these figures in much detail, let alone bring them to life. Hubbard-Hall is a rare example of achieving a highly engaging level of personality and insight.

There's more than a little playfulness to the retelling of these stories, women who worked for the Secret Intelligence Services in various roles, largely forgotten by history. The book benefits greatly from this tone, making it a real page-turner.

The book begins with Kathleen Pettigrew, secretary to five successive heads of MI6 from the 1920s to the 1950s and a likely inspiration for Miss Moneypenny in Ian Fleming's Bond books (the character's name in early drafts was Miss Pettaval). With her as a through line, the book touches upon a wide array of women working across various agencies, including Olga Gray, who was integrated as a spy in the British Communist Party.

As you read, you can easily see how these women epitomised the kind of focused, diligent, patriotic figures who served in the intelligence services from the First World War through to the 1960s. More than 650 such women worked for MI5 during WWI, for instance, organising and retrieving information that was vital to the war effort. This was true across a number of organisations, including Fleming's own naval group. As Hubbard-Hall states: "Within naval intelligence, information was ammunition," and it was often women who managed the secrets of the nation. ***JG***

★★★★☆

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HISTORY OF WAR RECOMMENDS...

LONG SHADOWS IN CYPRUS
MJW
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Long Shadows in Cyprus

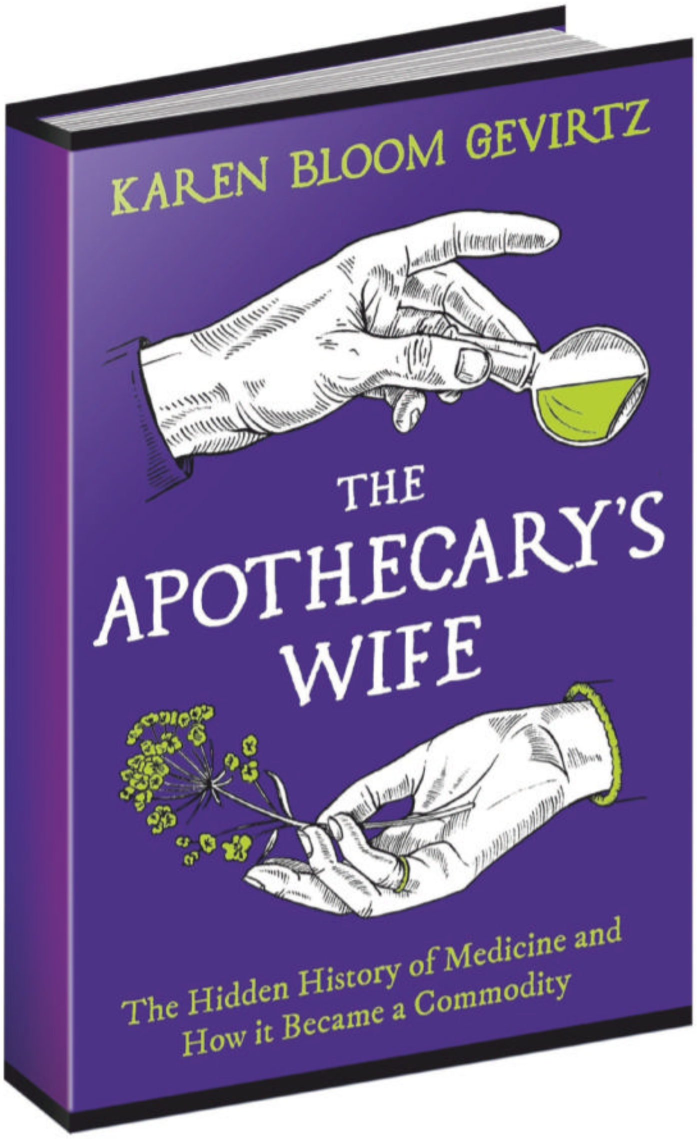
Author MJW Clark **Price** £12.99 **Publisher** Troubador Publishing

In 1963, tensions between the Greek and Turkish populations in Cyprus escalated to the point of armed conflict, and the after-effects still resonate today. Highly detailed and full of literary and cultural allusions, *Long Shadows in Cyprus* is a record of Clark's journey that's a combination of travelogue, memoir and a cultural history of the conflict and its lasting effects on the island today.

THE APOTHECARY'S WIFE

Exploring the commodification of domestic medical remedies

Author: Karen Bloom Gevirtz **Publisher:** Head of Zeus **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now


KAREN BLOOM GEVIRTZ
THE APOTHECARY'S WIFE
The Hidden History of Medicine and How it Became a Commodity

"Many women from the past are given a voice through the medicinal recipe books they left behind"

When Karen Bloom Gevirtz was researching in the archives of Chawton House Library, she became fascinated by a book known as *Blackwell's Herbal*, written by a physician in the 19th century called Elizabeth Blackwell. In the book, Blackwell describes how women of the time she referred to as "Herb Women" were selling fraudulent herbal remedies to ignorant patients. Understanding that Blackwell wrote for prominent medics and physicians, Bloom Gevirtz wondered why people were turning to these Herb Women instead of trained medical professionals, and why these women seemed so threatening to people like Blackwell and her patrons. From there, she began to question when and why people stopped relying on remedies from home and the result was *The Apothecary's Wife: The Hidden History of Medicine and How It Became a Commodity.*

In this fascinating, thought-provoking and deeply researched work, Bloom Gevirtz questions whether the Scientific Revolution saw an improvement in medication. The simple answer is no. She instead explains how it is not the case that medicine improved during the Scientific Revolution, and that actually the movement "catalysed the replacement of medications made at home with medications made by apothecaries and prescribed by physicians." During this time, women who had traditionally been the providers of effective medicine were replaced by (often male) professionals. As a result, domestic female practitioners of medicine were marginalised and began to be seen as "quacks". Bloom Gevirtz also relays, with great effect, how medicines became a commodity as she brings together social, medical, cultural and economic history across a wide range of valuable sources.

Bloom Gevirtz's background makes her well placed to write a book such as this. An English professor for nearly 30 years with a background as a pre-medicine student and a laboratory research assistant, she is able to write convincingly and knowledgeably while never losing her reader's attention. Unlike other medical history books, this is an easy read for those without an initial interest in science. Context is always provided by Bloom Gevirtz, who ensures her readers know where they are at all times. She also, at the end of the introduction, includes a handy list of commonly used terms in medicine and apothecary that allows the reader to familiarise themselves with unknown definitions before embarking on the first chapter.

The cast of historical characters introduced by the author keeps *The Apothecary's Wife* feeling relatable, with many women from the past being given a voice through the medicinal recipe books they left behind. Though this is undoubtedly a factual history of medicine and apothecary, Bloom Gevirtz makes it clear that the issues she tackles are not solely of the past. Her strong message about consumerism and for-profit medicine is relevant today and gives the reader pause to think about how we deal with health issues. As she so succinctly puts it: "The book is mine, the history is shared, and the choices are yours." ***ES***

★★★★☆

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

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POMPEII

Director: Paul WS Anderson **Starring:** Kit Harrington, Keifer Sutherland, Emily Browning **Country:** Italy **Year:** 2014

Can love overcome an erupting volcano? Probably not...

C

VERDICT: While the story is fictional, the key event sticks largely to the science

01 Before the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, we see Pompeii shaken by several earthquakes, with only mild alarm from its citizens. This is accurate to how such eruptions were experienced and likely seemed relatively normal to the inhabitants.

02 After Vesuvius explodes, a wave of gaseous debris called pyroclastic flow inundates the city, burning everything it touches. This is accurate to this kind of eruption and what happened to Pompeii. The flow is thought to have reached 300°C.

03 The burning cloud that hits Pompeii is joined by fireballs and a giant tsunami that sends ships flying into the city. Neither of these things happened. There was a tsunami but nowhere near this size and while large chunks of rock fell, they were not on fire.

04 All the main characters are fictional, although Milo (Harrington) and Cassia (Browning) are inspired by 'The Two Maidens'. These remains were found embracing at Pompeii and were thought to be two women, but DNA analysis suggests they were men.

05 The city is impressively recreated with even the location of key buildings being based on the archaeological remains (such as the amphitheatre). Items in the market were based on discoveries made by researchers and lidar was used to get the topography correct.

All images: © Alamy

Did you know?

The Original Maids of Honour tea rooms and bakery in Richmond has been open since 1850 and is known for serving the historic tarts, alongside a range of other delicious treats.

MAID OF HONOUR CAKES

TASTY TUDOR TARTS NAMED AFTER A FUTURE ENGLISH QUEEN, ENGLAND, C.1509-33

Ingredients

- 150g flour
- 50g caster sugar
- Butter
- Water
- 100g full-fat cream cheese
- 2 tbsp ground almonds
- 2 Eggs
- Zest of 2 lemons

Main image: © Shutterstock
Inset image: © Getty Images

Henry VIII is said to have provided these delicious treats with their peculiarly quaint name. The story states that he named them after Anne Boleyn, at that time the maid of honour to Catherine of Aragon. So enamoured was Henry VIII with these cakes that he ordered the recipe should be hidden away, made only for him. It was only in the 1700s that the recipe was leaked to John Billet, a baker, whose cakes quickly became incredibly popular. The exact truth of this story remains unknown, nonetheless it has become part of the legend of this British classic.

METHOD

01 Add the flour, caster sugar and butter together in a large bowl. Mix together until a crumble-like mixture forms. Slowly cut the water into the mixture until it begins to resemble a dough. Wrap in clingfilm, leave for at least 30 minutes.

02 Preheat the oven to 200°C. Roll out the dough and cut into 12 round shapes, grease your muffin or cake tray and place the dough inside.

03 Next, make your filling. Do this by whisking together the eggs, lemon zest, cream cheese and almonds.

04 Once your mixture is smooth, spoon it into the cases in the tray, being careful not to overfill them.

05 Bake for 20-25 minutes or until golden. Remove and leave to cool. Dust with icing sugar before serving.

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